



Relig.

A
COLLECTION
OF SEVERAL
PIECES
OF

Mr. JOHN TOLAND,

Now first publish'd from his Original
Manuscripts :

WITH
Some MEMOIRS *of his* LIFE *and*
WRITINGS.

VOLUME II.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. PEELE, at *Locke's Head* in
Pater-noster Row. M. DCC. XXVI.

85142
16/12/07





THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.



Letter concerning the Roman Education. Pag. 1

Directions for breeding of Children by their Mothers and Nurses, in two Letters written above two thousand years ago. 12

The fabulous Death of ATILIUS REGULUS : or a Dissertation proving the receiv'd History of the tragical Death of that Roman Consul, to be a fable. 28

Some Letters of PLINY, translated into English. 48

A new Description of Epsom. 91

The primitive Constitution of the Christian Church : with an Account of the principal Controversies about Church-Government, which at present divide the Christian World. 120

A Project of a Journal, intended to be publish'd weekly. 201

THE CONTENTS.

A Memorial for the most honourable the Earl of * * *, containing a Scheme of Coalition.	215
Another Memorial for the most honourable the Earl of * * *.	220
A Memorial presented to a Minister of State, soon after his Majesty King GEORGE's Accession to the Crown.	239
A Memorial concerning the State of Affairs in England, in the latter part of the year 1714.	258
Physick without Physicians,	273
Letters.	292

AN APPENDIX,

*Containing some Pieces found among
Mr. TOLAND's Papers.* Pag. I

Of the Immateriality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body: by Mr. BENJ. BAYLY, M. A. Rector of St. James's in Bristol,	3
Critical Remarks upon Mr. TOLAND's Book, entitled, <i>Nazarenus</i> &c. concerning the Opinions of the Cerinthians, Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Nazarens,	29
G. G. LEIBNITII <i>Annotatiunculae subitaneae ad Librum de Christianismo Mysteriis carente.</i>	60



A

LETTER

CONCERNING THE

ROMAN EDUCATION.



WHEN I last had the happiness, Sir, to be in your company, you may remember that we spent most of the afternoon about antient and modern Learning, which still continues to be a very fashionable subject (1) both in Books and Conversation. Yet, with all just regard to the famous advocates of either side, the Question, in my opinion, ought not so much to have been, *who succeeded best in the several faculties*, (tho I wou'd not have this excluded) *as which kind of Learning excells, and is of greatest use to mankind that of the old Greeks and the Romans, or that of the late Schoolmen and the present time?* Not that I wou'd make an odious comparison

(1) In 1703.

VOL. II,

A

between

between us and the Schoolmen, over whom we have got many considerable advantages : but, I'm sure, the further we still proceed to quit their language, and matter, and method, the nearer we must needs approach to those of the Greeks and the Romans. Nor can I imagin that any men will so far oppose matter of fact, or expose their own judgment, as to deny that all the perfections of the Moderns beyond the Schoolmen have been revealed to them by the Ghosts of the Antients, that is, by following their rules, reading their works, imitating their method, and copying their stile, which last holds as true in prose as in verse.

THIS ought not at all to be 'wonder'd at, as if the Antients had been a different race or species of men from us, or that Greece and Italy did formerly breath out more improving exhalations than at present, as some of the Heathens fancy'd their Oracles were given rather in one place than another by an inspiring vapor out of that particular spot. You may be certain, Sir, that I am disturb'd with no such fancy : the Antients and we are equal in our race and make, in the structure of our brains and our natural capacities : 'tis government and education that makes all the difference ; liberty of speech, and the rewarding of merit. The rules of reason and good sense are eternal, the same in all ages and countries, and wherever equally cultivated

tivated they most certainly produce the like effect. But where men are restrain'd in their genius, debarr'd all freedom from such and such subjects, or branded and incapacitated for being of this or that opinion; there 'tis impossible there should be any impartial search after truth, or any real improvement of the understanding, any useful or new discoveries, and consequently such times and places must come infinitely short of others that had an unlimited liberty, and all due encouragement. Can it be expected, for example, that the like extent of knowlege, the like mutual exercise of wits, or the like increase of discoveries should obtain in those countries where one sort of Philosophers alone are allow'd, and even those oblig'd to speak the language of their Priests, as in other countries where all Philosophies were publicly taught, and where all Religions were equally tolerated, and no opinion of any kind discountenanced, nor any men branded, but those who subverted the Government, or deprav'd men's Morals? and therefore it's no wonder why new Rome should come so short of the old, or why the present Greeks should be Barbarians, whereas their ancestors held all the world to be such except themselves. The difference is now as plain between England and Spain; which shows that time is not concern'd, and that liberty civil and religious is the cause of our knowlege, as their tyranny and inquisition is that of their ignorance.

As for the several sorts of learning, some being common to the Antients and the Moderns, and some being peculiar to the one and to the other, I'll say nothing to you at present on so copious an argument. But *I was always persuaded, that, as to the persons who made a profession of learning, and as to the manner of teaching it to others, the Antients made a much better choice than the Moderns, and ought incontestably to have the preference.* Their learned men were not the meanest of the people bred to letters, or rather to various cants for a livelyhood; uncommon words and terms being as far from arts and knowledge as pedantry is from learning, or affectation and foppery from civility and good manners: but all the dignities and degrees of the sacred Priesthood itself, as well as the great posts in the Law, and all the offices in the State, were possess'd by men of distinguish'd birth and fortune, and whose education was every way suitable. Among the Moderns, on the contrary, the noble and the rich quit the use of Letters as well as of arms to the meaner sort, thinking their knowledge should be carry'd about by their servants like their cloaths, tho' with this difference, that they will not use the one as they wear the other; whereby they render themselves obnoxious to be blindly led by their inferiors in opinions, as they shamefully put their possessions in their power whenever they are tempted to become the masters. This in our time has made the Arts
of

of peace and war hateful and contemptible, whereas being formerly plac'd in better hands and far nobler purposes, they were neither mercenary nor oppressive, but exceeding honorable and beneficial. They were not in the first place cloister'd up from society ; nor under the whips and fines, the scanty dyet and barren lectures of speculative men, accustomed to a retir'd and sedentary way of living : for such persons are commonly strangers to the world, which (with the want of practising mankind by the advantage of travelling) makes 'em imperious and austere, vehemently addicted to dispute, impatient of contradiction, noisy and passionate in conversation, and, what's worst of all, more concern'd to prepossess the understandings of their Schollars with those particular doctrines which make for the profit and credit of their own profession, than to fit them for business, to give 'em gentele accomplishments, and to advance 'em in the liberal Arts and Sciences. But the Roman youth, after they came out of their nurses and pedagogue's hands, were plac'd under the inspection of Companions rather than Masters, men of universal learning, generous breeding, well vers'd in public proceedings and in the common affairs of life, their examples being as instructive at least as their precepts. Forein languages they taught their disciples by conversation, and to be Critics in those as well as in their own by Grammar. You must not fancy, Sir, that these were like

the present Governors (as they call 'em) who in great men's houses are but the next sort of serving men after the Chaplain, and when they travel abroad are only the Stewards of their young Master's cash, and consequently such slovenly pedants as to afford perpetual matter of laughter to their disciples, being neither capable to introduce these nor themselves to the audience of Princes, to the diversion of Courts, or into any creditable company.

BUT among the Romans, before the ruin of the Commonwealth, they invited Philosophers from Greece by ample rewards, or prevail'd on able persons at home to undertake this province; besides very reputable conditions, they treated 'em always with the respect that became men of learning and knowlege, whose behaviour and politeness their children were as carefully to imitate as to obey their directions in all parts of their conduct. They did not fill their heads with narrow, pedantic, and useles notions, nor did they captivate their tender minds to blind authority, or implicitly swear 'em to particular opinions; much less did they torment their memories with any wretched, unintelligible jargon: but cultivating their reason, and leaving their judgments free, they taught them to discourse handsomly in private, to speak eloquently in public, to write perspicuously, elegantly, and correctly; but, above all things, to understand the Customs, Laws, and Religion of their Country. The
knowlege

knowledge of Mankind (a mighty art) they communicated to 'em by comparing antient History with the daily observations they made on strangers, their own acquaintance, and fellow-citizens. By reading the customs and constitutions of other places, they show'd 'em what in their own was blameable or praiseworthy, what requir'd to be amended, added, or abolisht. They inspir'd them with an ardent passion for Liberty, a true love and respect for strict Laws, with an equal abhorrence of Tyranny and Anarchy : persuading 'em to prefer death to slavery, and readily to expose their lives and estates in defence (not of any form indifferently) but of a Government which protected their persons, preserv'd their property, encourag'd industry, rewarded merit, and left their sentiments free. Such a government it was that they call'd their Country, and for this they thought it most honourable to dy, whether it were fixt in temperate climates and happy fields, or among barren rocks and sands, under the coldest or most foggy air. For wherever they enjoy'd liberty, there they thought themselves at home ; and indeed a fondness for any spot of earth from the mere consideration of being born there, is not only a false notion of our Country, but, in my opinion, as childish a prejudice as that of some old Men, who order their dead bodies to be carry'd many hundreds of miles to be laid with their deceast Progenitors, their Wives, or other Relations.

THE Roman youth were taught manly and martial exercises. By public games and prizes, as horse-racing, coursing in chariots, wrestling, running, fencing, and the like, they were inur'd to bear fatigues, and bred to all heroic Virtues, which are very consistent with the easy, affable, and obliging carriage which they learnt at the same time, and from the same men. This made the Commanders in those days as famous for their learning as their valor, the same persons governing and obeying by turns, without any difference between the Soldier and the States-man, the Orator or the General. To this is owing not only their surprizing actions, noble resolutions, and powerful harangues; but in particular their admirable stratagems of warr (proceeding from a perfect knowlege of human nature, acquired by History and Philosophy and which can never be practis'd by such as had no other education besides handling a musquet or trailing a pike, treading perpetually in the common road of their appointed exercise, and who are only preferr'd to their posts with respect to their seniority, just like the Fellows of a College. The favour of a Soverain can make any man a General, but not endow him with the least tincture of these arts; nor are they to be learnt in all the breeding of a Courtier. Soft soothing speeches will never pass for orations, no more than cunning little tricks for stratagems; and the managing of a ball

ball is as different from the marshalling of an army, as dancing is from fighting.

FROM want of considering the mixt capacity of the great men among the Romans, or rather for not understanding their manner of Education, which equally fitted them for the Forum and the Camp; even most of the learned of our time look on the Orations they read in their historians as never spoken, which is a great and unpardonable mistake. A militia of free citizens is no less a commonwealth or politic body than the Senat and Assemblies they have left at home, and in which the next year they'll take their places, when others have their turn of going into the field. In the Roman armies they voted on many occasions by their centuries in the camp, as well as about civil affairs in the city; and therefore the use of reason and persuasion was as necessary in the one place as the other; not that I affirm these Speeches were constantly deliver'd in the very words of the historians (which yet they often were) but only to that purpose: for it wou'd be too voluminous to insert them always at length, when the sense of them can be abridg'd into a narrow compass, which we see done by the best writers of our time in harangues, decrees, proclamations, and other public pieces which we very well know to be genuine. And, that I may say no more on this subject, the Historians, who, after this example, had stufft their works
with

with false Harangues, did not escape the censure of the Antients, and the like authors little consider what they do among the Moderns : but in composing a Romance such a practice is of a piece with the rest, and certainly allowable, being then an imitation of nature in a free country, and not in danger of imposing in any country on the readers.

THE Education of the Romans is likewise the reason why their youth enter'd so early on action, conversing with men from their cradles, and not boys with boys, as among us, till we arrive at manhood, when at length we begin to think of learning the duties of society ; but old age does generally overtake us before we can half conn our lesson. The sons of the Nobility or Patricians were admitted after a certain age to hear the debates of the Senat, as the best and only School, where they cou'd learn how far extended the liberty of the people, and what were the true bounds to the power of the Magistrate ; how to imitate betimes the best masters in the art of persuasion, to observe the orders, rules, and methods of proceeding ; and to know what behaviour was becoming towards their subjects, enemies, auxiliaries, and allies, as well as to form a right notion of all the several interests and parties in the Commonwealth. The sons of the inferior Gentry and Commons, those of the Equestrian and Plebeian Orders, modestly flood for the same ends by
the

the door ; and, such was the power of their virtuous Education and Discipline, that you scarce ever meet with any instances of their blabbing again in company what was propos'd or resolv'd in those august Assemblies, but on the contrary, very many commendations of their silence and discretion, tho, were any of 'em basely inclin'd, they might flatter themselves with no discovery from the multitude of their companions.

I cannot speak here, Sir, as I wou'd, of the Patrons which the Roman youth propos'd for their imitation amongst the most noted men of the Republic, observing all their words and actions, accompanying 'em to the Forum and the Senat, taking notes from their public speeches or pleadings, attending 'em home to their houses, and paying to 'em the same reverence and gratitude as to their own parents. After the same manner they put themselves Volunteers under the bravest Generals, to learn the art of war, not avoiding, but rather chusing the most dangerous expeditions, and they were actually oblig'd to make a certain number of campaigns, before they were capable of any Office whatsoever in the Government ; but all these particulars require a larger consideration than is consistent with the bounds of this Letter.

I am, Sir, &c.

DIREC,



DIRECTIONS

*For breeding of Children by their Mothers
and Nurses, in two LETTERS,
written above two thousand years ago.*

Introduction to the Letters.



IN my Letter concerning *the Roman Education* I said nothing relating to Mothers or Nurses, as not falling naturally within my province. I remember Mr. LOCKE has been censur'd more than once by some of our Pedants for takeing the Women's business (forsooth) out of their hands, and for being too conversant in the nursery. But the impotent declamations of those odd creatures shou'd never have deterr'd me, if that true lover of mankind had not exhausted the subject in his most useful *Treatise of Education*: besides that this part is not so arbitrary and subject to variation, as what may be reckon'd the genteel or fashionable Learning of different Countries; the right methods of breeding Children by their Mothers or Nurses being the same (however various the practice) in all times and places. Yet,

to

to gratify for once these squeamish Hyper-Critics, as well as to exhibit in a small compass what is deliver'd by Mr. LOCKE in too many words (the grand fault of his book) I shall give 'em this very part of Education from the hands they think most proper; since the following Letters were written by two Ladies, of whom I think it fitting here to give some short account.

THEANO was the dearly beloved wife of PYTHAGORAS, who, tho' not the first wise man, yet the first man that ever bore the title of a Philosopher. She was as learned as fair: and, after her husband's death, manag'd the Pythagoric School, with her sons TE LAUGES and MNESARCHUS. 'Tis no wonder therefore that this Sect shou'd be so illustrious from its very foundation for female Disciples, which were so numerous, that PHILOCHORUS of Athens fill'd a whole volum with 'em: but nevertheless it rais'd the wonder of Mr. MENAGE, that of all sects Women shou'd be fond of the Pythagoric sect, which recommended and enjoy'd silence so much. This piece of raillery is as insipid, as it is vulgar. THEANO, as I said, was the first and most celebrated among the Pythagorean Ladies. She was afterwards call'd the Daughter of the Pythagorean Philosophy, which made some other mistake her for the daughter of PYTHAGORAS himself. We have a remarkable instance, how far Philosophy had cur'd

cur'd her of the Superstition and vulgar errors of her country, where, among other such silly observations, people believ'd themselves polluted by touching dead bodies, and that even man and wife must perform certain rites of purification after conjugal caresses. Now THEANO being askt by some body, within what space of time a woman might be counted pure, after the embraces of a man? She answer'd, *After her own husband immediately; after another man, never.* This THEANO then wrote the second of the following Letters, and I need say little more of MUÏA (who wrote the first, the subject requiring this order) but that she was the worthy offspring of THEANO and PYTHAGORAS. It was questionless an effect of her education, no less than of her natural disposition, that, while a maid, she appear'd in all public assemblies at the head of the young Ladies; and that, when a wife, she continu'd at the head of the marry'd Women. She was so much admir'd for her prudent management, that her townsmen, the Crotonians, converted her house into a temple of CERES; and was so remarkable for her elegant learning, that the avenue to this house was stil'd the MUSÆUM: a glorious example for Ladies to imitate in both respects. To be short, these Letters are choice monuments of antiquity, and perfect in their kind, both with respect to the epistolary stile, and likewise as to accuracy of thought.

LETTER I.

CONTAINING

*Directions for the Choice and Conduct of
a Nurse.*

MUIA To PHYLLIS
Health.



OW you are become a Mother of Children, I give you the following advices.

CHUSE a Nurse every way fit for the purpose, but particularly a neat and modest Woman, one that is not addicted to Wine or too much Sleep: for such a Woman is agreed by every body, to be the best qualifi'd for bringing up Children without any servil examples; provided always that her Milk be kindly, and that she wholly refrain from her Husband for the time. For great stress is to be laid on these matters; since the choice of a Nurse, and her manner of tending us, is of most evident and essential concern in the course of our whole lives. A good Nurse will do every thing that she ought in its due season, not giving

giving the breast, pap, or any other nourishment to the Child at random, and as often as he craves; but with a peculiar discretion, for this highly conduces to the infant's health: and if she will not suffer him to sleep whensoever he pleases, but when she judges him to want his natural rest, this likewise will not a little confirm his health. Let not the Nurse be a passionate Woman, nor a stammerer in her speech; neither let her be indifferent when or what she eats, but be discreet and sober in her meals. Let her further, if you can possibly compass it, be a (1) Grec and not a Barbarian. The best time to lay the Child to sleep, is, after he has sufficiently fill'd himself with Milk: for rest is not only most grateful to Children, but the digestion of such food is also most easy.

If any thing else besides Milk must be given him, let it be of the simplest sort. But Wine ought to be wholly deny'd him, as being naturally too strong and hot: or if he must have any, let it be very rarely, and such as

(1) This caution, as that about stammering a little before, is given to prevent Children (who are continually imitating every thing they see or hear) not only from acquiring any vicious habit in their manners, but even in their speech: As CICERO likewise says, that *it is a matter of great concern who they be whom any one hears every day at home, or with whom he must converse from a child; how our Fathers, how our Masters, and how our very Mothers express themselves.* In Bruto.

comes

comes neareſt the conſiſtence of Milk that may be. His body muſt not be too often waſht: for the leſs frequent, and the more carefully prepar'd his baths are, the better. If he be ſent abroad to nurse, let it be in a temperate air, neither too hot nor too cold; as the ſituation of the houſe muſt not be too bleak, nor too cloſe. Let not the water us'd about him be over-hard or over-ſoft; as his very ſwadling-bands, and what other cloaths he wears, muſt be of a middle ſort between coarſe and fine, yet ever juſtly fitted to his body: for nature does in all theſe things require a certain ſimplicity and economy, but no niceneſs or magnificence.

I have thought it not unuſeful to write theſe things to you at preſent, in hopes of a happy nursery, perform'd as before preſcrib'd: but, God aſſiſting, we ſhall likewise in due time give ſuch proper directions as we can for the Education of the Child.



B

LETTER

LETTER II.

CONTAINING

*Directions for a Mother how to manage
her Children.*THE ANO To EUBULA
Health.

I am inform'd that you bring up your Children after a very nice and fond kind of manner. Now, it is the duty of a good Mother, not to cocker up her Children in Pleasure, but to accustom them to Modesty and Prudence. Take heed therefore, that you play not the part rather of one that flatters, than of one that loves them; for Pleasure being made, as it were, the foster-brother of Children, such a companion renders them intemperate and incorrigible. And what is it, pray, that can be afterwards more agreeable to Children, than the Pleasures to which they are us'd from the beginning? Wherefore care must be taken, my friend, that the Education of Children become not their Perversion: for 'tis a perversion of nature when their minds are abandon'd to Pleasure, and their bodies

to

to Voluptuousness ; thus avoiding labour in the last, and growing spiritless in the first. But Children ought to be timely inur'd to pains-taking and hardships, that, when afterwards they must in good earnest suffer pains or undergo fatigues, they may not turn the slaves of their passions (over-rating Pleasure, and dreading Labour) but that, scorning such poor prejudices, they may prefer Honour and Virtue to all things whatsoever, and continue stedfast in the pursuit of the same. By consequence then, their Feeding is not to be too sumptuous or plentiful, nor their Pleasures too many or exquisite, nor their Pastimes too frequent or long : neither may they speak whatever comes uppermost, nor always be themselves the chusers of what they shall do.

I am further inform'd that you are terribly frightn'd when your Child cries, and that you are at much pains to coax him again into smiles ; tho' he shou'd even beat his Nurse, or tell your self that you laugh impertinently : nay, that you make provision of cooling things for him in summer, and of warming implements in winter, with many other delicacies which poor folk's Children never experience, but are brought up at a much easier and cheaper rate ; nor are they for all that of a slower growth, and for the most part they enjoy a much better health. But you, on the contrary, educate your Children as if they were the posterity of SARDANAPALUS,

enervating the natural vigor of Men by effeminate Pleasures. What think you will become of that Child, who, if he may not eat when he lists, strait falls a crying; or, if he may eat, must have sweet and relishing things? who faints away, if the weather be hot; and shivers all over, if it be cold? who, if any body chides him, will contend again? who, if not serv'd at command, grows melancholy? and falls into a morose humour, if delay'd his meals? who shamefully indulges himself in laziness, and whose behaviour is infamously soft and indolent? Know then for certain, my friend, that such as begin their lives in such dissolute sloath, seldom fail of becoming other men's servants in riper age. Do your endeavour therefore to pluck up those Pleasures in your Children by the roots, practise upon them the hardy and not the delicate method of Breeding, let them learn to bear hunger and thirst, with heat and cold, and to behave themselves civilly, not only to their superiors, but also to their equals: since thus they will acquire a certain ingenuous and manly carriage, both when they are seriously employ'd in affairs, and when they relax their minds by necessary diversions. For believe me, friend, labours to Children are in the nature of preparatories towards the attaining of perfect Virtue, and which having sufficiently imbib'd, they afterwards receive the tincture of Virtue itself with much greater facility. Take care then, my friend, that,

as ill-cultivated vines bear none or bad fruit, so the tender rearing of your Children may not produce the mischief of much vanity and disgrace.

CONCLUSION.

CERTAIN Critics may think both these Letters spurious, if they will; as they pronounce all the Grecanic Epistles to be such without distinction: but in the mean time I defy 'em to prove these Letters to be so in particular, or (which is our main point at present) to write a couple of better or as good Letters upon the same subjects themselves. The instructions are never the worse, come they from THEANO and MUIA, or from any Sophist or Grammarian that personated those excellent Ladies. But indeed the four Letters are evidently spurious, which LEO ALLATIUS has publish'd under the name of our THEANO, in his *Notes on the Life of PYTHAGORAS*. Besides their being written in the Attic, whereas these are in the Doric dialect (generally affected by the Pythagoreans) PLATO's mention'd in the last of 'em, and his dialogue with PARMENIDES, contrary to all Chronology. There were other Women, and some not unlearned, call'd by the name of THEANO; so that there may be no mistake in the name, tho' a very gross one in the person.

I must not forget to remark, that, according to the noble simplicity reigning in the

most ancient writings, the second person is always express'd in our two Letters by *thou* and *thee*: and so I shou'd have translated, were it not that Custom (the only disposer of Languages) has made *you* to signifie in English the second person no less in the singular than in the plural number, just as in Latin *se* signifies the third person in both numbers.

I shall here add two Letters which in my opinion are little inferior to the former. One from MELISSA to CLEARETA, and the other from THEANO to NICOSTRATA, concerning the behaviour of married women.

MELISSA To CLEARETA

Health.



YOU appear to me to abound of your self in all good qualities: for the earnest desire you express to hear something concerning the decent behaviour of Women, gives fair hopes that you purpose to grow old in a course of Virtue. Now, it behoves a prudent and free-born Woman, who is join'd to one Man according to the laws, to adorn herself modestly, not magnificently. Let her dress be clean, and neat, and convenient; but neither splendid nor superfluous: for transparent or gorgeous attire, and those garments interwoven with

with purple and gold, are to be rejected, and wholly left to Mistresses, as instruments whereby to allure and retain the more customers. But the ornament of a Woman, whose business is to please one Man, does not consist in modes but in manners: since 'tis the honour of a free-born Woman to study to please her own husband only, and not every one else that looks upon her. Instead of Paint then, bear a blush on your face, as a sign of modesty. Prefer probity, and neatness, and frugality, before gold and precious stones: for a Woman of truly virtuous inclinations must not place all her beautifying skill in adjusting her cloaths, but in the management of her house, and in complaisance towards her husband, the best means to procure his favour. Indeed the Will of a husband should be an unwritten law to a good wife, whereby to govern all her actions; as she ought to think that obedience is the fairest and amplest dowry she can bring with her: for more trust is to be put in the beauties and riches of the mind, than in those of the face or of a fortune; since malice or sickness may destroy these last, whereas the first continues steadfast and useful till death.

Farewell.

THEANO To NICOSTRATA
Health.

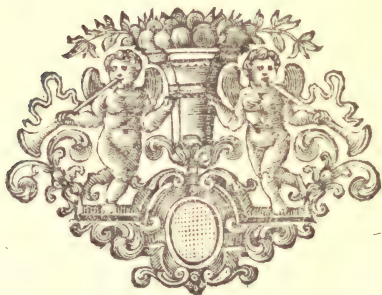


I have heard of your husband's extravagance, that he keeps a Mistress, and that you are jealous of him. But, my friend, I know a great many other men, that labour under the same distemper: for they are caught (it seems) by those women, and held fast, and depriv'd of their understanding. In the mean while you are tormented both night and day, you abandon your self to grief, and are ever contriving something or other against him. But do so no more, my friend: for the virtues of a wife lies not in watching her husband's actions, but in complaisance to his will, and this very complaisance obliges you to bear with his madness. He keeps company with a Mistress for his pleasure, and with a Wife for his convenience: but it is convenient not to mix evils with evils, nor to heap one folly upon another. Some faults there be, my friend, which are irritated the more by reproof, and which pass'd over in silence are the sooner cur'd, as fire not blown is observ'd to go out of itself: and therefore if he designs to conceal his conduct from your knowledge, but that you are resolv'd to expose by chiding his weakness,

weakness, then he'll transgress openly, and without ceremony; place not then your friendship in the caresses, but in the merit of your husband; for in this lies the pleasure of Society. Persuade your self, that he goes to his mistress instigated by lust, but that he comes to you as a companion for life; that he loves you out of judgment, but her only out of passion. But this last is of short duration, as being soon satiated: 'tis suddenly begun, and as suddenly ended. Thus a man, that is not altogether profligate, will spend but little time with a Mistress: for what can be sillier than that inclination, in gratifying which a man procures his own damage? Moreover, he will at leisure reflect upon the shipwreck he makes of his fortune and of his fame: for no wise man will continue voluntarily in any fault to his own hurt. Being therefore call'd upon by the rights he owes you of marriage, and considering with regret how his fortunes are impair'd, he'll thoroughly know thee at last, and, not able to bear the disgraceful remorse of his crime, he'll quickly reform. Do not you however, my friend, be provok'd to lead a life answerable to that of a Mistress; but distinguish your self by obedience to your husband, by care about your family, by officiousness to your acquaintance, and by natural affection to your children. Nor ought you even to be jealous of the woman herself: for 'tis only commendable to have an emulation with virtuous women. Shew your self (on the contrary) at all times

times prepar'd for a reconciliation : for, my friend, noble qualities procure us the good will of our very enemies, and esteem is the effect of probity alone. Being only thus reprov'd by you, he'll grow the more ashamed, and be the sooner desirous of a reconciliation. Nay, he'll love you the more ardently, becoming conscious of his injustice towards you, as well as acknowledging the unblamableness of your life, and having receiv'd such a proof of your affection for him : for, as the end of bodily afflictions is pleasant, so the differences of Friends render their reconciliation the more agreeable. Be likewise pleas'd to make a parallel of the worst that may happen every way. When he's sick, you become sick too of course with grief ; if he suffers in his reputation, the world will make you likewise suffer ; if he acts against his interest, your interest as join'd to his, cannot escape unhurt : from all which you may learn this lesson, that in punishing him you punish your self. If, on the other hand, you get a divorce, and marry another man ; yet, in case he be guilty of the like practices, you must still marry another : for widowhood is not tolerable to young women. But you'll live alone, as if you were not join'd to any man ; you'll neglect your family, and ruin your husband : and I say, that you'll reap for your pains the plague of a miserable life. But you'll be reveng'd on his Mistress. She'll observe and avoid you ; or, if it comes to blows, a shameless woman will
be

be found a stout fighter. But 'tis a satisfaction to scold with one's husband continually : and what will you get by that ? for wranglings and contentions do not put an end to irregularity, but proportionably encrease the misunderstanding. What next then ? you'll attempt something against his person. By no means, my friend, Tragedy teaches us to master jealousy by those several representations, in which Medea perpetrates her cruelties. But as hands must be refrain'd from sore eyes, so do you get rid of this evil by taking no notice of it : for in being patient, you'll the sooner extinguish his passion.





THE
FABULOUS DEATH
OF
ATILIUS REGULUS:
OR,

A DISSERTATION *proving the receiv'd History of the tragical Death of MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS the Roman Consul, to be a Fable.*

SIR,



THE second time I had the honour to wait upon you at your Lodgings, I found you reading CASAUBON'S POLYBIUS, which occasion'd us to discourse a while of History, and particularly about that of this Author. Among several important observations you were pleas'd to make, I could never afterwards forget the question you propos'd to me about the tragical Death of ATILIUS REGULUS, *Why* (1) POLYBIUS

(1) Lib. I.

makes

makes no mention thereof, when he is so diffusive in the circumstances of his defeat and captivity? I was not ashamed to confess then that I had no solid answer to give; for as, like the rest of mankind, I come to the knowledge of things successively and occasionally: so I had no opportunity before that time to enquire into this matter. Nor, perhaps, without that difficulty, should I have ever understood so much of it as I persuade my self now I do. All true judges of Learning are sensible, how beneficial good Conversation is to the attaining of it. And I do now experience it, since your undesigned hints have afforded me matter enough, without any studied digressions, for an extemporary and just Dissertation.

A Note of PALMERIUS upon (2) APPIAN directed me to a considerable Fragment of the 24th book of DIODORUS SICULUS, which has plainly convinc'd me, that the commonly receiv'd account of the death of ATILIUS is nothing else but a female tattle, and a Roman fable. And that you may not call in question the authority of my Fragment, which I do not know if ever you saw, I'll give you the history of it in a few words.

THE Emperor CONSTANTINUS, surnamed *Porphyrogennetus*, the son of LEO, and grand-

(2) *De bello Punico.*

son

son of BASILIUS, having, contrary to the common genius of Princes, a more than ordinary inclination to Literature; was at the pains, whilst yet a minor, to dispose under several heads, common-place-wise, whatever he was most desirous to understand: and made large collections out of all the Authors treating of them, that came to his hands. His labours of this kind amounted to no less than 106 Volumes, whereof only three are hitherto found and publish'd; the first by FULVIUS URSINUS, the second by DAVID HOESCHELIUS, both very learned men, and the third (which is ours) purchas'd at a vast price in Cyprus by the learned FABRICIUS PEIRESCIUS, and publish'd at Paris by the immortal ornament and promoter of Greek Erudition, VALESIIUS, in the year 1631.

As for the genuineness of the Fragment we can't doubt of it; for our Emperor in his Collections is exact even to a nicety. The many passages he has out of the extant Works of POLYBIUS, DIODORUS, JOSEPHUS and others, agree generally in terms with the copies we read every day, which leaves us no pretence of questioning the rest, and excludes all other proof as superfluous.

AND for DIODORUS, he is universally own'd to be one of the best and most disinterested Writers among the Ancients. He's none of those who only copy or contract a bulky
3
volume

volume or two, nor of such as obtrude precarious relations and conjectural inferences for matter of fact upon posterity. He's very unlike them who go no farther than their closets for materials, and he betrays no where the least partiality or mercenary end. He travell'd over a great part of Europe and Asia. He saw the most celebrated places mentioned in his works, and got authentick Memoirs concerning them upon the spot. He purposely liv'd a considerable while at Rome, then the Epitome of the Universe, where he could not miss of all necessary helps towards carrying on his great and useful design. Besides, he spent thirty years complete in making, for the ease and benefit of others, this curious Collection out of the most valuable Authors; and very fitly entituled it *The historical Library*. These particulars we learn from his own Preface. PLINY, after due commendations, calls it in the Proem of his natural History *The historical Libraries*. So it is cited in the plural by JUSTIN MARTYR, and EUSEBIUS, who likewise (3) says *That DIODORUS collected into one work the whole historical Library*. We need not wonder then if this industrious Author has preserv'd several matters not to be easily or indeed at all met with elsewhere; which serves but to make us more sensible of our loss in the best part of his labours.

(3) *Preparat. Evangelic. lib. 1,*

I should now give you the Fragment with the Observations I made upon it. But to render the Discourse more natural and therefore more evident, I shall first relate the history of ATILIUS, after which I'll offer my exceptions, then shew the reasons of my dissent, and lastly subjoin the whole Fragment with the addition of another.

I. After the two potent and emulous Republicks of Rome and Carthage had a long time with various success contended for the sovereignty of Spain, and the dominion of Scicily, Sardinia, and other Isles of the Mediterranean; the Romans at length perceiving that their attempts were likely to prove frustraneous, without more marine force and experience, (for the Carthaginians were undoubted masters at sea) fitted out a great fleet of hatched vessels such as they never had before, and excellently well mann'd. They soon found by their success and recovering state, of what advantage good ships and stout seamen were like to be; which made them augment their forces that way more and more, as (4) POLYBIUS copiously describes. Thus, flush'd with some late victories, and much relying upon their naval army, consisting of 140000 fighting men, they look'd no longer so low as Scicily; but resolv'd to transfer the war into the enemies own country, swallow-

(4) Lib. 1.

ing in their hopes no meaner an acquisition than Carthage it self. In pursuance of this design MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS and LUCIUS MANLIUS made a descent into Africa, after having beaten the Carthaginians at sea who endeavour'd to hinder their landing. The Punnick commanders were ASDURUBAL, AMILCAR and BOSTAR, of which two last more hereafter. The Romans took in a short time several strong places, and, MANLIUS with part of the army and the prisoners returning to Italy, ATILIUS was left with the sole power of prosecuting the war; who, as fast as he could sit down before them, took from the Carthaginians (5) 200 towns, wasting the country to the very suburbs of their capital city, which made him brag, that he had seal'd the gate of Carthage, that none might escape. The poor Carthaginians were under a terrible consternation upon this stupendious progress of the enemies arms, and would readily conclude a peace upon any reasonable terms. But the (6) haughty ATILIUS, not knowing how to use his good fortune, propos'd such hard conditions as differ'd little from absolute slavery, which put the Africans to despair. But happily about this time arriv'd some Grecian mercenaries under XANTHIPPIUS an expert and courageous Lacedemonian, who by the consent of the commanders themselves, to whose ill conduct the people attributed the Roman vic-

(5) *Appian. de bello Punico.*

(6) *See pag. 18, &c.*

stories, was set over all the forces, and shortly after totally routed the Romans, and took ATILIUS who became AMILCAR's prisoner. As soon as this defeat was known in Rome, they fitted out another fleet under the Consuls ÆMILIUS and FULVIUS, who at the Hermæan Promontory attack'd that of the Carthaginians and took all their ships being 114 with all the men on board 'em, and by consequence the (7) Generals AMILCAR and BOSTAR. So ASDRUBAL alone was left to manage the war by land. Upon this last victory the Carthaginians sent their Ambassadors to Rome to treat of the peace, and ATILIUS their prisoner with 'em, upon oath to return if he could not persuade the Senate to grant their demands. But he instead of this dissuaded them, and return'd with the Ambassadors, prepar'd to suffer for the good of his country whatever punishment the offended Carthaginians should inflict. (8) CICERO with some others affirms that they cut his eyelids, and thrust him into a dungeon, where they constantly kept him awake in a certain machine till he dy'd. Others with (9) APPIAN say he was put into a barrel stuck every where full of sharp nails. (10) FLORUS has him crucify'd; and all tortur'd to death. This story has not only been thus transmitted to posterity by most of the Historians that

(7) *We hear no further of 'em in this War.*

(8) *Offic. lib. 3.*

(9) *De bello Punico.*

(10) *Lib. 8.*

wrote of the Roman affairs, but also still continues to be a celebrated example, in most authors as well as familiar discourses, of fortitude, and greatness of mind.

II. BUT preserving the highest veneration for the memory of this noble General's heroick actions, especially the love he bore to his country, I'll make bold to give a very different account of his end, which, from the reasons you shall hear by and by, I think was after this manner. After he did contrary to the instances of all his friends, so gloriously return to Carthage, the Romans having got into their hands AMILCAR and BOSTAR at the Hermæan fight (as abovesaid) to comfort his wife they committed them (11) with other prisoners of the best quality to her custody, to exchange them for her husband, or detain them till he was let at liberty. In the meantime ATILIUS dyes either of some infirmity according to the course of nature, or more probably being a high spirited and proud man, he broke his heart for the sudden and unusual disgrace he fell under. But let this be as it will, I only maintain his death was not violent. ATILIUS's children, you may easily imagine, were extreamly troubled at their father's death in captivity and a foreign land. But his wife was in despair, refusing all consolation. She could not bear

(11) Zonaras.

the sight of a Carthaginian, and out of excess of anger and grief, attributed the death of her husband to the negligence of his keepers. She therefore commanded her sons to use the captives as ill, which injunction they cruelly executed, as you'll see in the Fragment. And tho' AMILCAR did frequently implore this enraged woman's compassion, yet relentless to all his prayers, and the protestations he made of the great care he took of her husband whilst he was his prisoner; she continu'd to torment him till the matter was discover'd to the Senate, who were, for this dishonour done to the Roman name, highly incens'd against the mother and children. But she to excuse herself, and to avoid the imputation of cruelty among her neighbours and acquaintance, told them that fable of her husband's lamentable death, which was quickly spread over the town by those women especially who came to comfort her; and who, 'tis likely, made this pretended tragedy the chief theme of their discourse at every gossiping. Thus it obtain'd credit first among the women and vulgar; then it afforded the subject of a Tragedy to the Stage, where it receiv'd all the advantage of fiction, that is allowable to Poets or Politicians; and at last out of hatred to the Carthaginian name, it was commonly inserted by Historians in their relations of that Punick War, and so handed down to us.

III. MY

III. My reasons for what I have here asserted are,

1. First, POLYBIUS's silence : for no Historian had better opportunities to know those things than he. He was SCIPIO the younger's own tutor, and his companion too in his expeditions. He was particularly present at the destruction of Carthage by this great person ; and there is such a connection between this latter and the former Punick Wars, that a man so familiar with the General, so learned and curious as to write the history of both, with much sincerity and no less accuracy, could not be ignorant of so remarkable a circumstance, as the fate of ATILIUS must needs be, if such a thing there were. Besides, (12) he assures us himself, that he has gone over all the particulars of ATILIUS's story, that those who read it may thereby learn to become better men, according to the vulgar saying, *Happy is he who learns by the misfortunes of others*. Now, I refer it to the judgment of every unbiass'd and thinking person, whether if POLYBIUS had this good intention towards mankind, as we have no reason to doubt it, he would omit this common account of our Consul's death, if it had been true ? Or whether he can be suppos'd to forget what he design'd so punctually to relate, when in matters of little importance, where

(12) *Lib. 1.*

his word is no way engag'd, he's sometimes tediously circumstantial ?

2. MY second reason is the partiality of the first Historians, who treated of that Punick War, to wit, FABIVS and PHILINUS, *who*, says (13) POLYBIUS, *related not the truth to us with that sincerity they ought*. PHILINUS assures his reader that the Carthaginians manag'd all matters with unparallel'd wisdom, justice, and courage, and the Romans quite contrary. But FABIVS, as zealous for the credit of his countrey, gives PHILINUS the lye, and as much extolls the equity, prudence, and valour of the Romans, as he enlarges upon the cruelty, folly, and cowardise of the Carthaginians. POLYBIUS having occasion in another (14) place to correct one of FABIVS's voluntary mistakes about that war, has those fine words, which, one would think, were calculated for our times. *But why have I mention'd FABIVS, says he, and his history? not that I believe his narrative so like the truth as to gain belief from some. For what he writes in this place is so contrary to reason, that tho' I were silent, the readers will easily perceive the man's insincerity, which plainly enough discovers itself. But this I write to admonish those, into whose hands his history may come, that they judge not as the*

(13) Lib. 1.

(14) Lib. 3.

title of the book promises, but according to the nature of the things themselves. For there are some who rather consider him that speaks than what he says; and because they know the author liv'd in those times and was a Roman Senator, they forthwith receive whatever he delivers as most deserving of credit. But for my own part, as I would not have this author's veracity slightly call'd in question, so neither would I establish it in such a manner as to pin the reader's faith upon it; but rather that every one should chuse those things his judgment inclines him to believe. Thus far our Author.

Now, let this same FABIVS, or who else you please, be the first writer of this story, the next Roman author that mention'd it did probably copy him, as all the rest might one another without much enquiring into the original of the thing, which all the quotations in the world can render no truer than the first relation. I say not this as if I thought 'em always partial or fabulous. I acknowledge they were not so barren of truly brave and vertuous instances in their citizens to be fond of a fantastick Hero. But in matters of this nature which are establish'd by popular tradition, wherein religion or the honour of a nation are concern'd, and the belief whereof can have no ill consequences, 'tis not always safe, nor perhaps will it be thought so necessary to insist too nicely upon truth.

Modern as well as ancient Histories furnish us with numerous examples to this purpose. The brevity I design permits me not to improve on my behalf the different accounts, that the authors give us of REGULUS's torments. The last of 'em is sufficient to punish the blackest crime, and it was impossible for one to suffer 'em all, being not only too many, but contrary to each other. There is something more than mistaking a word, or exaggerating Rhetorick in this variety. Vulgar Romance, which is made or embelish'd at pleasure in all ages, and taking things upon trust, are the softest expressions I can bestow upon it.

3. MY third reason is positive, and built upon the Fragment in which I chiefly consider three passages.

1. First, ATILIUS's own wife (as you'll observe) has nothing to lay to the charge of her illustrious captives the Carthaginian Generals but a bare suspicion that her husband dy'd for want of being well look'd after, or as she expresses it, through (15) neglect. And do you think if there had been any thing in the famous Legend, but she would make them bloody reproaches upon this head?

2. Secondly, AMILCAR with tears protests that he in particular took all possible care of her husband whilst his prisoner; nor would

he fail to excuse others or lay the blame on the state where it should be, if there had been occasion for it. And tho' he sees he can by no means mollifie this merciless woman, and looks upon himself as a lost man ; yet he still calls God to witness his innocency, and, that for the thanks his care of their father deserv'd of ATILIUS's children, complains he's most ungratefully repaid with exquisite torments.

3. Thirdly, the indignation of the Magistrates against the ATILII upon the discovery of their barbarity, and their imputing all the fault to their mother ; with the speedy care they took to burn the dead according to custom, and carefully to cherish the living. Now, 'tis presum'd, the Senate would not express this high resentment if ATILIUS had perish'd thro' violence or neglect. And had we the rest of this 24th Book of DIODORUS, we should, questionless, hear the fact excus'd to the Carthaginians, or, at least, their complaints. But that, I fear, is irrecoverable with the rest of LIVY, POLYBIUS, TACITUS, APPIAN, MARCELLIN, and many others, (to speak nothing of entire authors) unless more of CONSTANTINE's collections be discover'd in Greece, where, 'tis probable, they may be all still with much better Books.

THESE (as they clearly appear in the Fragment) seem to me reasons sufficient to convince

vince all ingenuous persons, that the tragical story of the Death of REGULUS is partly invented, partly mistaken, and altogether a fable. I could add several other cogent arguments from the politicks and manners of the Carthaginians, with their dangerous state at that juncture, to give so grievous a provocation to the Romans; but that I look upon more proofs as needless, when the matter of fact is already made so evident.

IV. Now finally, to illustrate the whole, and confirm our Dissertation, I subjoin the version of the *Fragment* itself, which is as faithful as you could make it elegant.

A Fragment of the 24th Book of DIODORUS SICULUS in the collection and edition mention'd above.

“ BUT the mother of the (16) young men
 “ bearing heavily the death of her husband,
 “ which she attributed to neglect and care-
 “ lessness, commanded her sons to use the
 “ captives as ill as they could. First then,
 “ they were shut into a small room so nar-
 “ row that for want of place they were forc'd
 “ to conglobate their bodies, and lye round
 “ as beasts are wont to do. And then being
 “ deny'd food for five days, BOSTAR out of
 “ anguish of spirit, and hunger together, ex-

(16) *The Atilii.*

“ pir'd.

“ pir’d. But AMILCAR being endu’d with a
 “ singular greatness of mind, altho’ destitute
 “ of all hope, yet kept himself up as well as
 “ he could, and did frequently beg compassi-
 “ on from the woman with tears, telling her
 “ what great care he had taken of her hus-
 “ band. Yet he was so far from inclining
 “ her to any sense of humanity, that the
 “ cruel woman did shut up BOSTAR’s carcass
 “ with him five days longer, affording him
 “ in the mean time food enough to preserve
 “ life in him, to make him sensible of his
 “ calamity and torment. But AMILCAR seeing
 “ now all hopes of mercy cut off from his
 “ entreaties calls JUPITER *the protector of*
 “ *strangers*, and all the powers that regard
 “ human affairs to witness; loudly exclaim-
 “ ing that for the thanks due to him he was
 “ rewarded with most cruel torments. Now
 “ whether by the compassion of the Gods,
 “ or some good luck that brought him unex-
 “ pected assistance, he dy’d not by these tor-
 “ tures: for when he was in the utmost peril
 “ of his life, what by the noisome stench of
 “ BOSTAR’s body, and what by the other
 “ streights he was under, some of his ser-
 “ vants coming to know of it told the thing
 “ to certain foreigners. These, highly mov’d
 “ at the indignity of such wickedness, spec-
 “ dily discover’d the whole matter to the
 “ Tribune of the people. And because the
 “ fact appear’d extreamly barbarous, the Ma-
 “ gistrates summon’d the ATILII before them,
 “ who

“ who narrowly escap’d capital punishment
 “ for having infamously branded the Roman
 “ name with this mark of cruelty. More-
 “ over, the Magistrates threatn’d them se-
 “ verely if they did not hereafter take spe-
 “ cial care of the captives. But they laying
 “ all the blame of the matter upon their
 “ mother, burnt the body of BOSTAR and sent
 “ his ashes to his country; and, delivering
 “ AMILCAR from his former misery, they
 “ brought him by degrees to his usual strength
 “ again.

SIR, you may remember I accus’d ATILIUS
 of mixing some Pride with his many extraor-
 dinary Virtues; and dissuading the Peace at
 Rome, with his return to Carthage, are still
 sufficient to magnifie his name without the
 addition of a fable. This I did not there-
 fore to lessen his character, which I deserved-
 ly admire; for there’s some base alloy in the
 finest gold: but I have great reason to collect
 so much from some Authors, and am put out
 of all doubt by another judicious Fragment
 of the same Book of DIODORUS, and out of
 the same collection, wherereof I give you
 this indifferent Translation.

The second Fragment.

“ I hold it the duty of a Historian (says our
 “ Author) diligently to set down and mark
 “ the manners and inclinations of the Com-
 manders

“manders on both sides. For as by blaming
 “the ill conduct of any, others may avoid
 “committing the like faults; so on the other
 “hand, the commendation of what is right-
 “ly perform’d enflames the mind to pursue
 “Virtue. Now who would not justly re-
 “prehend the impudence and arrogance of
 “ATILIUS REGULUS, who, not able to bear
 “his good fortune, as if it had been some hea-
 “vy burthen, both depriv’d himself of great
 “praise, and cast his country into mighty
 “dangers? For when he had it in his power, be-
 “sides procuring the glory of much clemency
 “and humanity, to conclude a peace very glo-
 “rious and advantageous to the Romans, but
 “bale and dishonourable to the Carthaginians;
 “he set light by all these considerations, and
 “proudly insulting over the misfortunes of
 “the distressed, impos’d such hard conditions
 “as mov’d the indignation of the Gods, and
 “forc’d the vanquish’d to act most valiantly.
 “Thus through the miscarriages of this one
 “man, there happen’d such a sudden change
 “of affairs, that the Carthaginians, who, by
 “reason of their late defeat, had despair’d of
 “any safety, now having unlook’d for sup-
 “plies, quite routed the enemies forces: and
 “the Romans, who, before were reputed to
 “excell all the world in land fights, were so
 “discomfited and shatter’d as not to dare
 “after this to venture a land battle with their
 “enemies. Whereupon this war became more
 “tedious than any of the precedent, and was
 “con-

“ converted into a naval one, in which in-
 “ numerable ships of the Romans and their
 “ allies, and above 100000 men perish'd over
 “ and above what fell by land. Besides, it
 “ cost such vast sums of money as were thought
 “ sufficient to entertain as great fleets tho'
 “ the war should last fifteen years. Now the
 “ Author of these evils bore a large share of
 “ them; for he obscur'd his former glory
 “ with much greater infamy and dishonour:
 “ and by his infelicity became a warning to
 “ others not to be puffed up by success. What
 “ is most to be noted, having cut off from
 “ himself that favour and compassion which
 “ is usually bestow'd upon the afflicted, he
 “ was forc'd to bear their reproaches and sub-
 “ mit to their power, whose calamities he in-
 “ sulted over a little before.

THUS, Sir, without favour or affection,
 (you may be sure) I have confuted this old
 tradition; and remov'd all the cruelty from
 Africa, where it lay so long, into Italy whose
 title to it I find much better. There are many
 other histories as little question'd as ever this
 was, which, we are very certain, have not a
 quarter so much ground nor probability to
 recommend 'em for truth. And yet many
 in the world place all their learning and some-
 thing more in the bare belief of such childish
 and old-wives fables. Truly we shall not en-
 vy them this sublime knowledge, nor the re-
 fin'd speculations it affords them. Nay, with

our consent they may not only value themselves upon it, but laugh at our ignorance too, like PARSONS the Jesuit, who pleasantly, because seriously, affirms in his answer to COOKE, that *one Papist of mean learning is more wise and knowing than an hundred Hereticks together. For the Heretick, says he, is only guided by his own sense and reason, but the Papist follows the learning and wisdom of his whole Church consisting of an infinite number of great men, and so makes their learning and wisdom his own.* I wonder he might not as well conclude, that the poorest Papist is more learned than a million of Protestants, or than all the Popes themselves, from these notable premisses. But such is the admirable reasoning of our implicit-faith-men in every thing! They differ only about their subjects whilst they perfectly agree in their disquisitions. But this is so evident and you so perspicacious, that I need insist upon it no longer: and therefore shall only add that with all imaginable affection, I am,

Sir,

You most humble Servant.

OXON, *Aug. the 6th,*
1694.

SOME



SOME LETTERS OF PLINY

Translated into English.

To Mr. * * *

SIR,



send you some Letters of PLINY, as a specimen of the Translation I am making of the whole ; and desire your judgment on this Essay. I make no doubt but you will agree with me, that for what they call a happy turn, delicacy of expression, and speaking only to the business in hand, no modern comes near our PLINY, no more than in the variety of his subjects, such as intrigues of state, points of literature and history, questions in natural philosophy, rural pleasures, the concerns of his friend, and some trifles which he renders important. The short Notes I shall add at the
foot

foot of every page will justify my Translation, which I endeavour to make as concise as his Latin, not comparable indeed with that of CICERO, but nothing behind him in sense or matter. I conclude as he does in one of his Letters, that I give you this account, SIR, because our mutual friendship requires you should not only be made acquainted with all my words and actions, but even with my designs.

Farewell.

Epson Sept. 10.

1712.

TO SEPTIMIUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 1.

YOU have frequently exhorted me, that, if I had written any Letters with more accuracy than others, I would collect and publish them. I have made such a collection, yet without observing any order of time (for I was not writing a history) but just as they happen'd to come each to hand. It now remains, that neither you repent of your advice, nor I of my compliance: which if we do not, will occasion me to look out for these Letters I have thrown aside as useless, and not to suppress those I may write hereafter.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS RUFUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

HOW fares Comum, my delight and yours? that country seat so exceeding lovely? that gallery, where 'tis always spring? that most shady grove of plane-trees, that canal, so green and clear as a diamond? the lake hard by, which seems design'd for a reservoir to supply it? those firm and yet easy walks? that bath which never wants the sun in his round? those large dining rooms for company, and those lesser withdrawing rooms for a few friends? how goes it with the drinking rooms? how with those bedchambers for night, and those antichambers for day? Do these possess and share you by turns? or are you hinder'd (as you were wont) with frequent excursions abroad, by an over-earnest desire of encreasing your estate? If these possess you, then are you easy and happy: but if they do not, you are only one of many that admire 'em. Why do you not rather (for it is high time) commit those low and sordid cares to others, and apply your self to books in that quiet and plentiful retreat? let this be your business and leisure, your labour and recreation: let studies employ your thoughts by day, and be the subject of your dreams by night. Invent and finish something, that may be perpetually yours: for the rest of your possessions will, after your death, successively fall

fall to the share of many owners; but if this once begins, it can never cease to be yours. I know how great a soul, and how fine a genius I exhort. Do you only endeavour to have as good an opinion of your self, as others must needs entertain of you, if once you are conscious of your own worth.

Farewell.

TO CORNELIUS TACITUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 6.

YOU'll laugh, and you may laugh as long as you please. I, that same PLINY whom you know so well, have caught three wild boars, and extraordinary fine ones. Who, you your self? say you. Yes, I my self: but I sat by the toils, not so as entirely to quit my ease and quiet; for I had lying by me, not a hunting-pole and a lance, but a pocket-book and a pencil. I meditated something and noted it down, that, if I went home with empty hands, yet I might bring with me full pages. You'll see no reason to despise this manner of studying. 'Tis wonderful, how the mind is roused by the exercise and motion of the body. The woods and the solitude all around you, and that very silence which is requisite in hunting, are great enticements to thinking. Whenever therefore you go a hunting hereafter, you may upon my authority carry with you a pocket-book and a pencil, as well as a pouch and a bottle.

You'll find that MINERVA does no less wander upon the mountains, than DIANA.

TO MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 9.

'TIS a wonderful thing how reasonably we act or at least seem to act, in the city upon particular days ; but not so every day, nor many days together. For if you ask any one, *what have you been doing to day?* and that he answers, *I was to congratulate with a friend for his son's arriving to man's estate, I was present at a contract or a wedding, one call'd me to be a witness to his will, another to assist him in a law-suit, another to have my advice in some other matter :* these things will just then seem necessary offices ; but, if consider'd as done every day, they must appear to be pure losing of time, and you'll be convinc'd of it much more when you retire into the country. For then I call to mind, how many days I have spent in most trivial affairs ; which reflection I especially have, when, in my Laurentin villa, I read any thing, or write, or even take care of my body, the prop and support of the mind. There I hear nothing of which I wou'd chuse to be ignorant, nor speak any thing I wish unsaid again. No body detracts from me at another man's table by malicious discourses, and I find fault with no body but only with my self, when I can't write to my mind. I

am perplex'd with no fears, I am not disquieted with any reports: I speak only with my self and my books. O upright and sincere life! O sweet and honourable leisure! preferable (I had almost said) to any business whatsoever! O sea! O shore! you true and private studying-place! how many things you dictate to me? how many things you occasion me to invent? Do you therefore, as soon as ever you can, leave that noise, those vain prattles, with all the pains you are at to so little purpose, and betake your self to study or recreation: since 'tis better (as our friend ATILIUS has no less learnedly than facetiously said) for a man to be idle than to be busy in doing nothing. Farewell.

TO FABIVS JUSTVS.

Lib. I. Ep. II.

TIS a great while since you have sent me any Letters. I have nothing (say you) to write. Why then write this very same, that you have nothing to write; or at least that with which our fore-fathers us'd to begin, *if you are in health 'tis well, I am likewise in health.* This will be enough for me, for 'tis all in all. You'll think I am jesting, but I desire it of you very seriously. Let me know then what you are a doing, of which I cannot be ignorant without the greatest uneasiness. Farewell,

TO AVITUS.

Lib. 2. Ep. 6.

IT wou'd be both tedious, and to little purpose, to give you a particular account, how I (that am not wont to be every man's guest) shou'd happen to sup with a certain person, who in his own opinion is liberal and yet frugal, but to me appears to be at the same time both sordid and prodigal: for he order'd the richest dishes to be set before himself and a few friends, but the least and the cheapest before the rest of the company. He likewise order'd his wine, which was in very small bottles, to be distributed into three sorts; not to give us the liberty of chusing, but that we might not have the power of refusing: since one sort was for himself and us, another for his lower friends (for he has his friends by tires) and a third for theirs and our gentlemen. He that sat next me took notice of this management, and ask'd me whether I approv'd it. By no means, said I. Pray then, reply'd he, what method do you follow? Why, I order the same things to be serv'd to all that are at the table: for I invite people to a meal, but not to a reproach; and I equalize those in all things, whom I admit to my bed or my board. What, your Gentlemen too? Certainly: for then I look upon 'em as my companions, and not as my dependants. O, but this is expensive. Not

at all. How can that be? The reason is, because my gentlemen don't drink the same wine as I, but I the same as they: and truly if you be not very extravagant, 'twill be no great burthen to share with others what you use your self. 'Tis Luxury therefore that must be moderated, and kept under as it were, if you wou'd save charges; which is much better done by your own temperance, than by the disgrace of others. But to what tends all this? E'en that the boundless luxury of some people may not, under the notion of frugality, impose on so hopeful a young Gentleman as your self: and my affection for you requires of me, when any thing of this nature happens, to precaution you by such an example what you ought to avoid. Remember therefore, that nothing is more to be avoided than this new fellowship between luxury and sordidness; which, as they are most pitiful things disjoin'd and asunder, so they are much more contemptible when united.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS.

Lib. 2. Ep. 8.

DO you study? or go a fishing? or ride a hunting? or do all these together? since our Larius gives you an opportunity for 'em all: for this lake affords plenty of fish, the woods that surround it game, and that most profound retreat study. But whether

D 4

you

You follow 'em all or any one thing, I cannot say, I envy you: nevertheless 'tis a torment to me that I cannot likewise enjoy those things, for which I long with as much ardor as feverish persons do for wine, or baths, or fountains. Shall I never be able to break, if I cannot dissolve, these intolerable bonds? I think I never shall. For fresh businesses throng on the back of the old, before these are quite finish'd: and the weight of my affairs is increas'd upon me every day, like an addition of so many cords and chains.

Farewell.

*The beginning of PLINY's Letter to
GALLUS, describing his Country
House near Laurentum.*

Lib. 2. Ep. 17.

YOU admire why the Laurentin (or Laurens, if you'll have it so) shou'd so extremely delight me. But you'll cease your wonder, when you know the agreeableness of this Country House, the conveniencies of the place, and the extent of the shore on which it is situated. Its distance from the city is but seventeen miles; so that after having done all your business, you may arrive there before it be late or the sun is down. You come to it by more ways than one, for the way of Laurentum and that of Ostia lead
hither;

hither ; but after travelling fourteen miles you quit the Laurentin, and after eleven the Ostian road. Leaving the one and the other you fall into a way that is somewhat sandy, pretty deep and tedious for carriages, but to people on horseback easy and short. The prospect is vary'd from place to place, for by the woods you meet, the road is sometimes straighten'd, and sometimes again it grows extraordinary large across most spacious meadows. You meet many flocks of sheep, with great herds of cows and horses, which after winter thrive well and grow mighty sleek by the grass of the downs, and the kindly warmth of the spring. My Villa is large enough for all conveniencies, yet not costly to maintain. There is, in the first place, an entry which is plain indeed, but not slovenly : &c.

Here follows the description of the house, gardens, enclosures, &c.

The conclusion of the same Letter.

ARE you now convinc'd that for good reasons I cultivate, inhabit, and love this retirement ? which, you must needs be too much addicted to the city, unless you desire to see ; and I wish you may desire it, that to so great and many ornaments of our little house may be added the highest commendation from the honour of your company.

Farewell.

TO

TO CALVISIUS.

Lib. 3. Ep. 1.

I don't remember that ever I past my time more pleasantly, than when I was lately with SPURINNA: infomuch, I assure you, that, if it be my lot to grow an old man, there's none, whom in old age I wou'd sooner imitate: for nothing is more methodical than that kind of life, and I am as much delighted with the orderly life of men, of old men especially, as with the constant course of the stars. Indeed, hurry and confusion are not wholly unbecoming young men, but all things still and regular are expected of the old, in whom pains taking is of the latest, and ambition is scandalous. The rule I am going to tell you, is most constantly observ'd by SIURINNA, and these little things (little, if they were not daily practis'd) are reduc'd by him into a certain order and rotation as it were. In the morning he sits for some time on his couch, at six a-clock he calls for his shoes, he walks three miles, and exercises his mind no less than his body. If he has any friends with him, they are entertain'd with excellent discourses, but if not, some book is read; and this sometimes when he has the company of his friends, provided they don't dislike it. Then he sits down a while, and so comes the book again, or a

discourse

discourse that excells any book. Soon after he mounts his chariot, and takes in his wife of exemplary virtue, or some of his friends, as very lately my self. O how amiable, how sweet is that privacy! How much of antiquity will you learn there! Of what actions, of what men will you hear! What precepts will you be taught! tho' he prescribes this temperament to his own modesty, as never to seem to dictate. After he has thus rode seven miles, he walks another mile, and sits down again, or betakes him to his closet and his pen: for he writes, and that in both languages, Lyrics especially with a great deal of art. They are wonderful soft, wonderful sweet, wonderful facetious: and their graces are augmented by the probity of the writer. When he's warn'd of the hour for the bagnio (which in winter is eleven a-clock, and one in summer) if it be not windy weather, he walks naked in the sun. Then he plays long and vehemently at tennis, for by this kind of exercise, he likewise makes war upon old age. After he has wash'd he sits down to table, but does not eat immediately: and in the mean time hears something read with a distinct and soft voice. His friends may all this while freely do the same things, or whatever else they like better. At last comes in supper, no less neat than frugal, serv'd up in old and upright plate. He likewise uses Corinthian ware, with which he's pleas'd but not bewitch'd. The intervals of
supper

supper are frequently fill'd up by the performances of Comedians, that pleasure itself may be season'd with wit. Even in summer this takes up a good part of the night, but is tiresome to no body, the entertainment being continu'd with a world of agreeableness. Hence it is, that now after his seven and seventieth year, he has the perfect use of his eyes and ears; hence it is, that his body is brisk and active, and that he has nothing of old age but experience. For this kind of life I pray, and act it already in my thoughts; being resolv'd to begin it chearfully in good earnest, as soon as my years may warrant me to sing a retreat. In the mean time I am fatigu'd with a thousand labours, of which the same SPURINNA is both my comfort and example: for he likewise, as long as it was dishonourable to do otherwise, perform'd the usual duties, fill'd diverse magistracies, govern'd provinces, and earn'd his present leisure by a great deal of pains. I therefore prescribe to my self the self-same course and the self-same end; and give you an assurance of this even now under my hand, that if you perceive me to go longer on in business, you may plead this very letter of mine as a law against me, and command me to be quiet, as soon as I can avoid the imputation of laziness.

Farewell.

. T O

TO CATILIUS.

Lib. 3. Ep. 12.

I Shall come to supper to you : but I bargain now before hand, that it be short, that it be frugal, that it abound only in Socratic discourses, and that even of these there be no excess. There are likewise certain duties belonging to the night, wherein CATO himself cou'd not be found imploy'd without blame, whom yet CAIUS CÆSAR so reproaches as to commend him : for he represents certain, who met him blushing, when upon uncovering his head, they discover'd he was drunk ; and then adds he, *you would think that CATO had surpris'd them, and not they CATO.* Could more authority be attributed to CATO, than that even drunk he appear'd so venerable ? But let the time of our supper be limited, as well as the preparation and the expence : for we are not those, whom our very enemies cannot censure without praising us at the same time.

Farewell.

TO LICINIUS.

Lib. 4. Ep. 30.

I Have brought you, as a present out of my country, a question very worthy of your

your profound erudition. A spring rises in a hill, it runs thro' rocks, is receiv'd in a basin made by hands, and, interrupted there a while, it falls into the Larian lake. The nature of this Fountain is admirable. It increases and decreases thrice a day at certain floods and ebbs. This is plainly seen, and the experiment is try'd with extraordinary delight. You seat your self near it and eat there ; nay, and drink too out of the fountain, for 'tis extream cold. In the mean while it does at certain and proportionable spaces of time fall or swell. You lay your ring, or any thing else, on the dry sand, the water comes towards it by degrees, and covers it ; at last the ring begins to appear again, and is by little and little quite left by the water. If you stay long enough, you may observe the same thing a second and a third time. May there be any hidden breath, that sometimes opens the mouth and jaws of the fountain, and sometimes closes them again, according as by inspiration it rushes in, or by expiration 'tis forc'd out ? as we see to happen in bottles, and in other vessels of that sort, which have not an open and ready passage : for they likewise, tho' inclin'd and held downwards, do by certain delays of the obstructing air (express'd in frequent gulpes) stop what's to be pour'd out of them. Or is the fountain of the same nature with the ocean ? and by whatever cause this last is driven to the shores and swallow'd back

back again, so this small water is sunk or rais'd. Or as rivers, running into the sea, are by contrary winds and tides forc'd back towards their source, so is there any thing that at certain times may drive back the stream of this fountain? Or are the latent veins of such a certain capacity, that while they are collecting the quantity they lost, the stream grows less and slower, but quicker and greater when the veins are full again? Or is there, I know not what occult and imperceptible libration, which when it is light, raises and forces the spring; and when it is depress'd, stops and choaks it? Do you search the causes of so great a wonder, for you are able: 'tis enough for me, if I have clearly enough express'd the matter of fact. Farewell.

*The Beginning of PLINY's Letter to
APOLLINARIS, describing his Tuscan
Villa.*

Lib. 5. Ep. 6.

I Was pleas'd with your care and uneasiness, when, having understood that I design'd to go this summer to my Tuscan Country House, you persuaded me not to do it, as thinking the place unwholesome. Indeed, the coast of Tuscany along the shore is foggy and infectious, but this place is far distant from the sea, and stands just at the foot of
the

the Apennin, which is the healthiest of mountains. And that you may be rid of all fear on my behalf, take this account concerning the temperature of the climate, the situation of the country, and the agreeableness of the Villa, which must needs be very pleasing for you to hear, and me to relate. The air in winter is cold and sharp, neither will it bear or produce myrtles, olives, or such other plants as thrive by a perpetual warmth : but it agrees with bay-trees, and sometimes produces very green ones, but none decay oftener than they do about the city. The summer is wonderfully temperate ; and the air is always in some kind of agitation, but which occasions breezes more frequently than winds. This is the season that you meet with many old people, and that the youth see their grandfathers and great grandfathers. You may hear the old stories and discourses of our ancestors, and, when you come hither you'll think your self born in the former age. The prospect of this country is extraordinary fine. Imagin to your self a certain vast amphitheater, and such as nature alone is able to form : then a large and spacious plain incompast with hills, and the tops of those hills cover'd with lofty groves and antient trees, which supply continual hunting, and of diverse sorts. The sides of the hills are stock'd with coppice woods, among which are mellow and clayish hillocks (for you can scarce find a stone, tho' you purposely look for

for

for one) which in fruitfulness are not inferior to any fields on the plains, and yield a plentiful crop, later indeed, but not less full or ripe. Below these the whole declivity is cover'd with vineyards, which give the same uniform prospect on every side; and shrubs grow in abundance about the extremities, like a sort of fringe. Next come fields and meadows. The fields are such as can be only broken by huge oxen and strong plows, this most stiff earth turning up into such vast clods as require nine breakings before they are tam'd. The meadows are bespangl'd and enamel'd with flowers, producing clover and other herbs, which are soft and tender as if they were always young: for they are all water'd with never-drying streams. Nevertheless, where the greatest quantity of water is to be found, there is no marsh; because, being steep land, whatever moisture it cannot soak, glides down into the Tyber. This river, which is navigable, runs thro' the middle of the country, and carries all our productions to the city, tho' only in winter and the spring: for it grows low in summer, and leaves in its dry bed, the name of a great river, which it reassumes in autumn. You'll be greatly charm'd if you behold the situation of this country from the top of the hill: for you'll not imagin to see land, but some piece that is painted with the most exquisite delicacy. With this variety, with this disposition, the eyes are refresh'd wherever they turn.

My Villa which stands towards the foot of the hill enjoys as fair a prospect as if it were on the top : it rises so easily and by such slow degrees, that you find yourself got up without perceiving that you mounted. The Apennin is behind, but a good way off. In the most still and fairest days there come breezes from thence ; yet neither piercing nor impetuous, but spent and out of breath by the distance itself. The greatest part of the house looks towards the south, &c.

*A Court, Shade, and WilderNESS, in the
same Description and Letter.*

Before this lovely front of the house, there is answerable to the whole extent of it a very spacious Court, wherein horses are to be manag'd, and may even run races in a circular course. It is open in the middle; which at one view wholly discovers it to those that are coming into it. It is planted round with plane-trees, and these are so cover'd with ivy, that their lower parts are green with its leaves, as the tops are with their own. The ivy creeps up from the trunks to the branches, and by passing over from one tree to another, links 'em all together. The distances between them are fill'd up with box, and they are lin'd quite along behind with a hedge of bay, which joins its shade to that of the plane-trees. This court

court extending in a right line, is terminated in a semicircle, and changes its landscape, being at the end surrounded and cover'd with cypress, occasioning there a closer, more dark and gloomy shade; tho' the open round spots of this wilderness (which are very many) receive the clearest light, which makes roses thrive here, and so the coolness of the shade is temper'd with the grateful warmth of the sun. All these numerous and various windings are at last reduc'd to a straight line, and not in this plot alone, for there are several others separated by allies, on either side beset with box or rosemary. Here you have green parterres, and there compartments of box, which are cut into a thousand figures, sometimes into letters denoting the name of the owner, and sometimes that of the gardener. Among these there mount by turns pyramids of yew and the shapes of trees laden with fruit. But in so regular a piece of art there still appears a study'd negligence, with a sort of imitation of nature and the country, the middle space being adorn'd with dwarf plane-trees; besides which, there is store of soft and creeping acanthus, then several more figures, and a greater number of names.

TO ANTONINUS.

Lib. 5. Ep. 10.

THERE's nothing makes me more sensible how good your Verses are, than when I strive to make the like: for as painters can never reach the perfection of a fair and faultless face; so I lag, and fall short of your original. I therefore so much the rather exhort you to produce a great many more, which all may passionately endeavour, but none, or very few, be able to imitate.

Farewell.

TO MACRUS.

Lib. 5. Ep. 18.

TIS well with me, because 'tis well with you. You have your wife with you, and you have your son. You receive delight from the sea, from the springs, from the green trees, from the fields, and from a most pleasant country-house: for indeed I cannot doubt, but that house is most pleasant, which was the retirement of that man, who was more, before he was made most happy. Here in Tuscany, I both hunt and study, which I do sometimes by turns, and sometimes both together: yet to this hour am

I not

I not able to decide, whether it be more difficult to take any thing or to write,

Farewell.

TO MAURICUS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 14.

YOU press me to come to your Formian Villa ; and I shall go, on condition that you put yourself to no sort of inconvenience, which is making the like bargain for my self, against your coming to me : for 'tis neither the sea nor the shore, but you, and ease, and liberty, that I would enjoy. Otherwise it were more eligible to stay in the city. We must do every thing according to our own or other folks humour : and this on my word is the nature of my stomach, that it can bear nothing but what's plain and unmix'd.

Farewell.

TO NEPOS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 19.

DO you know that the price of lands is risen, especially, near this city? The cause of this surprizing rise, which is the subject of much discourse, did at the last meeting of the Senate, occasion several most excellent speeches, importing, That *the candidates at elections should neither treat,*

nor make presents, nor lay out any money. The two first of these abuses were not less excessively than openly practis'd; and the third, notwithstanding the care us'd to conceal it, was a thing taken for granted. Now our friend HOMULUS, having diligently improv'd this unanimous agreement of the Senate, mov'd for a resolution, that the Consuls should be order'd to acquaint the Prince with the desires of them all, and to pray him, that according to his usual vigilance, he would correct this, as he had other disorders. The Emperor assented, for he put a stop to those base and infamous expences of the candidates, by a law against canvassing, and oblig'd them to qualify themselves by laying out on land, a third part of their estates; esteeming it a very shameful thing, as indeed it was, that such as are desirous of this honour, should live in Rome and Italy, not as their country, but as a lodging, or like travellers in an inn. The candidates hereupon, outbid one another every where, and buy up whatever they are inform'd is to be sold; insomuch, that many now part with their lands, who did not think of doing it before. If you are weary therefore of your farms in Italy, this is certainly your time of putting them off to advantage, as well as of buying in the provinces, while the candidates are selling there to purchase here.

Farewell.

TO MACRUS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 24.

WHAT a world of difference there is, by whom any thing is perform'd : for the same actions are either extoll'd too high, or prest down too low, by the same or the obscurity of the authors of them. I was sailing upon our Larian lake here, when an old friend of mine shew'd me a villa on the shore, and the very room hanging over the water. Out of that place (says he) did a woman of our borough precipitate herself together with her husband. I inquir'd the cause. Her husband (continues he) stunk with certain ulcers, which from a long disease he had contracted about the privy parts of his body. His wife, than whom none cou'd better judge of that matter, beg'd him to let her inspect the part affected to see if curable ; she saw, she despair'd, she exhorted him to dye ; and became herself the companion of his death, nay, and was the guide, the example, and the necessary cause of it : for she bound herself with her husband, and so tumbl'd into the lake. I, that am of the same town, never heard of this fact till very lately : not because it is less than the most famous deed of Arria, but because the woman herself is less.

Farewell.

TO FEROX.

Lib. 7. Ep. 13.

THE same letter informs me, that you study, and that you do not study. I speak riddles — Yes for certain, till I tell you more distinctly what I mean. For it denies that you study, yet is so polite, that none but one who studies cou'd write it; or else happy are you above all mortals if amidst sloth and idleness you can finish such pieces.

Farewell.

TO FALCO.

Lib. 7. Ep. 22.

WHEN you know who and what my friend is, you'll wonder the less, that I so earnestly press you to confer upon him the Tribuneship. But now, after you have promis'd me, I am at liberty to tell you his name, and to give you his character. 'Tis CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS, who, whether you regard his rank or his accomplishments, is the ornament of my country. Being nobly born, he abounds in riches, but loves books as if he were born poor. He is a most upright judge, a most indefatigable advocate, and a most faithful friend. When you are better acquainted with the man, who is equal to all honours, to
all

all titles (for I'll say no more of the modestest person in the world) you'll be perswaded 'tis you yourself that have receiv'd the obligation.
Farewell.

T O R U F U S.

Lib. 7. Ep. 25.

O How much does the modesty of learned men, or their love of quiet lessen or obscure their fame! But we, when about to speak any thing in publick or to rehearse, fear only those who have made their studies known: whereas they who hold their tongue perform thus much farther, in that they admire a noble work by their very silence. What I write, I write from experience. TERENTIUS JUNIOR, having most honourably acquitted himself in the horse service, and in the administration of the Province of Narbon, retir'd to his own estate in the country, and preferr'd a most profound tranquillity to the employments that were ready to be heap'd on him. Having invited me to his house, I consider'd him as an understanding head of a family, or as a diligent farmer, being ready to discourse him on those subjects, wherein I thought him most conversant; and I begun so to do, when he by a most learned speech recall'd me to my studies. How accurate every thing! How excellent his Latin! How pure his Greek! For he's so much master of both,

both, that you wou'd always think he excell'd in that language he's actually speaking. How much has he read? How much does he remember? You would swear the man liv'd at Athens, and not in a country seat. But what need of more words? He has encreas'd my sollicitude, and makes me stand no less in fear of those retir'd men, who may be reckon'd a sort of farmers, than of those whom I know to be the most learned. I advise you to the same caution: for as in camps, so in letters, you'll find, if you carefully enquire after them, a great many under a rustic habit, who are arm'd at all points, and begirt with a most piercing wit.

Farewell.

TO MAXIMUS.

Lib. 7. Ep. 26.

I Was lately convinc'd by the indisposition of a friend, that we are best when we are sick: for what sick person is disturb'd with avarice or lust? He pursues no amours, he covets no honours, he neglects riches, and, let him leave but ever so little behind him, he has enough. Then he believes there are Gods, and remembers himself to be a man. He envies no body, he admires no body, he despises no body, neither is he curious to hear or is pleas'd even with scandal. His thoughts are wholly set on baths and fountains.

tains. The top of his cares, the top of his wishes is, that, after escaping his distemper, he may become sleek and plump: which is to say, that he resolves to lead an innocent and happy life for the future. What the Philosophers therefore endeavour to teach in many words, nay in many volumes, I can thus briefly prescribe to you and myself; that when we are well, we continue to be such, as we profess our selves resolv'd to be, when we are sick.

Farewell.

TO ROMANUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 8.

HAVE you at any time seen the well of CLITUMNUS? If you have not yet (and I believe not, since otherwise you had told me of it) see it now, as I have done of late, tho' it repents me I was too backward. There rises a gentle hill, shaded with a grove of antient cypress-trees. At the bottom of this hill breaks out the Fountain, issuing by several springs, some greater and some less, and bubbling up makes a basin, which spreading wide appears so clear and transparent, that you may count the chips that are thrown in, and the pebbles that shine at the bottom. From thence the water is protruded not by any declivity of the place, but by its own quantity and weight. This fountain more-
over

Over (that immediately becomes a large river capable of boats, which coming upwards, it forces down again and keeps back) is so impetuous, that tho' it runs on plain ground, it bears along, without the help of oars, whatever is to follow its course. But you can difficultly get against its stream with all the help of oars and poles to boot. Both effects are pleasant enough to those who are on the water for play and pastime, exchanging labour for ease, or ease for labour, just as they change their course. The banks are cover'd with abundance of ash and poplar-trees, which the pellucid river, as if they were drown'd therein, adds by reflection to the number of the green ones above. The coldness of the water may compare with snow, nor is it inferior in colour. Hard by is an antient Temple, held in great veneration. CLITUMNUS himself stands clad in a Pretexta. The lots there shew him to be a present and a prophetic Deity. Several chappels are scatter'd around it, and as many images of the God. Each has its peculiar devotion, with its peculiar name, and some likewise their peculiar wells: for besides the greatest, which is as it were the father of the rest, there are others less, divided in their sources, but united in the river, which is passable by a bridge. This bridge is the bounds of what's sacred and what's profane. 'Tis lawful above it only to sail, but below it, people may also swim. The Hippellates, on whom AUGUSTUS bestow'd this place,

place, do afford both bathing and lodging for your money. Nor are there wanting country seats, which following the pleasantness of the river, stand on the brink of it. In a word, there's nothing that will not afford you some delight: for you'll study likewise, and read various things by various persons, written on every pillar, on all the walls, to celebrate this Fountain and its God. Most of 'em you'll commend, but some you'll despise; tho' so great is your humanity, that you'll laugh at nothing.

Farewell.

TO URSUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 9.

'TIS a great while since I have taken a book, since I have taken a pen into my hand. 'Tis a great while since I knew what is ease, what repose, what that slothful indeed but delightful thing, to do nothing, to be nothing: so much am I render'd incapable, either to retire or to study by the many affairs of my friends! For no studies are so valuable, as to make us abandon the duty we owe our friends, and which those very studies command us most religiously to observe.

Farewell.

TO MAXIMUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 19.

IN Letters consist both my joy and my comfort : for there's nothing so joyful which by these is not made more joyful, nor any thing so sad, which by these is not made less sad. Having therefore been out of order by the sickness of my wife, the danger of many in my family, and even the death of some ; I have my refuge to books, as the only easers of my grief, they teaching me to understand adversity better, and to bear it more patiently. Now you know it is my way to examine by the judgment of my friends, and particularly by yours, whatever I am about to publish to the world. Do you therefore, if ever, be attentive in correcting the Book you'll receive by this letter ; because I fear, lest by occasion of my sadness, I have not been attentive enough my self. I cou'd indeed so far master my grief as to be able to write ; but yet not so far as to do it with an easy and chearful mind ; for as satisfaction from studies, so studies proceed from mirth.

Farewell.

TO GALLUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 20.

TH E same things, to know which we begin long journies, and cross the seas, we neglect nearer hand and under our eyes : whether it be that nature has so fram'd us, as to be incurious of what's at home, and covetous of what's remote; or that the desire of every thing grows so much the fainter, as the means of obtaining them become easier; or, finally, that we put off to another time our design of seeing, what's in our power to see as often as we please. Whatever be the cause, there are very many things in our own city, and about it, which we never saw with our eyes, nor ever heard with our ears; yet were the same in Greece, in Egypt, in Asia, or in any other land fruitful of wonders, and valuing it self upon them, we should have heard, and read, and seen them e'er now. Thus I have lately both heard and seen my self, what before I neither heard nor saw. My grandfather in law requested of me, that I would take a turn to visit his farms near Ameria. As I was walking over these, they shew'd me a Lake at the foot of a hill, going by the name of Vadimon, and told me certain incredible things of it at the same time. I went strait to it. The lake is as round as a wheel lying on the ground, equal on all sides,

no creek, no bay ; but every thing proportioned, even, and as if they had been hollowed and scoopt out by the hand of an artist. The colour of the water is lighter than blue, and deeper than green ; the smell of it is sulphureous, the taste medicinal, and the virtue of it is to consolidate fractures. It occupies but a small space, yet large enough to feel the force of the winds, and to have its surges swell'd by the same. There is no boat upon it (for it is sacred) but certain grassy Islands all floating in it, all defended with reeds and rushes, and such other things as grow in fertile marshes, or at the extremities of this very lake. Each of these islands has its proper figure and motion. The margins of all are bare, because that being frequently struck against the shore, or one another, they reciprocally wear and are worn. They are all equally high, and equally light ; for their roots fall flanting into the water, after the manner of a keel. This figure may be observed on all sides, they being sunk and suspended in the same water. Sometimes they are join'd and coupl'd together, and resemble the continent : at other times they are separated by opposite gusts of wind ; and not seldom floating singly, when the water's in a gentle motion. The smaller often lye by the sides of the greater, as lighters do by ships ; and the greater and the less are often in such a motion, as if they strove together,

or ran a race. Being driven back again into the same place from whence they set out, they enlarge the ground; and sometimes on this side, and sometimes on that, they lessen or increase the lake, and then only leave the compass of it entire when they keep in the middle. 'Tis well known, that cattle following the grass, are wont to get upon those islands, mistaking them for the utmost bank, without perceiving the ground to be moveable till they are separated from the shore, and then grow afraid of the water all around them, as if they were ship'd and transported; but soon getting out, as the wind happens to drive them, they no more perceive, when they come ashore, than when they went aboard. The same lake discharges it self into a river, which, after being visible a little while to the eye, is swallowed into a cave, and runs deep underground, and whatever's received by it before this descent, it preserves and brings out again at the other issue. I have written these things to you, as supposing them not less unknown nor less agreeable to you, than they were to my self; for nothing more delights you as well as me, than the works of nature.

Farewell.

TO GEMINUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 22.

HAVE you not observ'd such, as being slaves to all manner of lusts, are yet so angry with the vices of others, as if they envy'd them; and most grievously punish such as they most diligently imitate: when nothing is more becoming even those than lenity, who stand in need of no body's clemency. And indeed I look upon that man as the best and most faultless, who pardons others as if he always err'd; but yet so abstains from errors, as if he wou'd never pardon. Let us therefore hold this as a maxim both at home and abroad, as well as in every condition of life, that we be implacable towards ourselves; but easily reconcil'd, even to those who cannot forgive any but themselves: and let us fix in our memory what THRASEA the mildest, and for this very reason, the greatest of men, was frequently wont to say, *who hates vices, hates men*. You'll be curious perhaps to know, what mov'd me to write this. A certain person of late — But we'll discourse of this more to the purpose when we meet; tho' now that I think better of it, not then neither: for I am afraid, lest telling that which I blame others for practising, censuring, reporting, should be repugnant to the virtue I so earnestly inculcate. Who therefore, or what-

whatsoever he be, let him be forgot in silence: since to make him remarkable, might shew some example; but not to make him so, shews much more humanity.

Farewell.

TO AUGURINUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 8.

IF now I begin to praise you after being prais'd by you, I am afraid lest I should be thought not so much to speak my own judgment, as to return you thanks. But tho' I should be thought so to do, I esteem all your writings nevertheless to be very fine, and those to be the finest that treat of us. This proceeds from one and the same cause: for you write best when you write of your friends, and I read as best of all what concerns myself.

Farewell.

TO TACITUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 14.

YOU neither applaud yourself, nor do I write more out of respect, than as the subject itself requires. Whether posterity will have any regard for us, I know not, but certainly we deserve it should have some: I will not say for our wit (since that were

arrogant) but for our study, diligence, and even our desire to please posterity. Let us only persist in the course we have begun, for tho' it has advanc'd but few to glory and fame, yet it has deliver'd a great many from forgetfulness and silence.

TO LATERANUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 27.

I Have often before, but especially of late, perceiv'd how great is the power, how great the dignity, how great the majesty, nay, how great is the divinity of History. A certain person was publicly rehearsing a book full of truth, and reserved part of it for another day. Hereupon the friends of somebody came begging and praying him, not to proceed with his rehearsal: so much asham'd are they of hearing what they did, who had no shame in doing what they blush to hear. The author however granted their request, for he had not given his word to read the rest. But the book, like the deed itself, does still remain, as it will for the future, and be read in all ages, so much the more because not straight publish'd: for men grow impatient to discover those things, that are kept back from their knowledge.

Farewell.

TO

TO RUSTICUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 29.

AS it is more eligible to do any one thing in perfection, than many things indifferently ; so it is to do many things indifferently, if you cannot do any one in perfection. This consideration has induc'd me to make a tryal of my abilities in various kinds of studies, having not confidence enough to confine myself to any in particular: and therefore when you read this or that thing of mine, you'll so pardon every one, as not being the only one. Shall the number of pieces be an excuse in the other arts, and the condition of studies continue more severe, where it is more difficult to succeed ? But what do I talk of pardon, as if I were on the sudden grown ungrateful ? For if you receive these last performances with the same courtesy that you did those I sent before, I may rather expect praise than pardon ; tho' I for my part am well content with the latter.

Farewell.

TO GEMINUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 30.

YOU do very often in person, as now by letter, praise your friend NONIUS to

F 3

me,

me, for being liberal to some people : and I likewise praise him, provided it be not to them only. For I will have him, that is truly liberal, give to his country, to his kindred, to his wife's relations, to his friends, but I mean to his poor friends ; not as they, who chiefly present those, that are most able to present again. I look upon such not to give away their own, but by their gifts (cover'd over with hooks and birdlime) to catch the goods of others. They are much of the same disposition, who take away from one what they give to another, and so court the fame of liberality by avarice. But the first thing to be done towards this, is to be content with one's own ; as the next is, to become a sort of confederate by turns with him, who maintains and cherishes such as you know are truly in want. All which if NONIUS does, he's without doubt to be commended ; if only any one of 'em, he's less indeed, but still to be commended : so rare a thing is even an example of imperfect liberality ! All men are seiz'd with such a vehement desire of having, that they may seem rather to be possess than to possess.

Farewell.

TO TITIANUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 32.

WHAT are you doing? What are you about to do? I lead a most pleasant, that

that is, a most idle life. For this reason I would willingly read, but not write, long letters; the one as being idle, the other as being indolent: for nothing's more slothful than your indolent, or more curious than your idle folks.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 33.

I Have happen'd upon a true subject, but very like a fiction, and worthy of that most luxuriant, most profound, and truly poetical genius of yours. You must understand that I happen'd upon it, as sitting at supper one and another were relating diverse wonderfull things. Great is the sincerity of the relator: tho' I may ask, what is sincerity to a Poet? Yet the relator is such as you would not scruple to credit, were you even writing a history. In Africa is the colony of Hippo, near the sea, and nearer to the town is a navigable lake, out of which there runs a gut like a river, which, as the tide happens to ebb or flow, is by turns carry'd off to the sea or restor'd back to the lake. Those of all years are busy'd in this place, as they delight in fishing, or sailing, or swimming: but especially the boys, who are allur'd hither by play or idleness. To swim in the deepest water is among these matter of glory and cou-

rage; and he's victor who leaves farthest behind him both the shore and his fellow swimmers. In this contention a certain boy, bolder than the rest, swam far beyond them; a Dolphin meets him, now gets before him, now follows him, next wheels round him, lastly gets under him, slides him off, comes under him again, and carries him all trembling first towards the sea, then presently turns towards the shore, and restores him to the land and to his companions. The fame of this thing spreads thro' the colony: all run together, and look upon the boy himself as a miracle; they ask him questions, they hear him answer, they report all again. Next day they flock to the shore, they look towards the sea, or any thing that's like the sea. The boys fall to swimming, he among the rest, but with more caution. The dolphin comes again at his usual time, and approaches the boy. He flies with the others. The dolphin, as if he were inviting and calling him back, frisks above water, dives again, and dexterously performs diverse wheelings and turnings. The like he did the second day, and the third, and several other days, till the shame of fearing seiz'd upon those men bred to the sea: they come near him therefore, they play to him, and they call upon him; at last they likewise touch him, and handle him, he tamely suffering it all the while. This experiment increases their boldness. The boy especially, who made the first tryal, swims towards the dolphin

dolphin as he was swimming, he leaps upon his back, is carry'd and return'd, believes himself to be known and belov'd by him, and loves the creature on his part, neither of them fearing nor being fear'd. The boldness of the one and the tameness of the other encreases, while the other boys swim on the right and the left, encouraging and directing them. There accompany'd him (which is likewise a wonder) another dolphin, as if he were a spectator and comrade : for he neither did nor suffer'd any thing like the other ; but came and departed with him, as the boys did with the other boy. It looks incredible (yet is as true as the rest) that this dolphin, the play-fellow and carrier of the boys, us'd to be drawn upon the shore, and, growing dry upon the sands in the heat of the day, to be rowl'd back again into the sea. 'Tis also well known, that OCTAVIUS AVITUS, the Legate of the Proconsul, did, out of superstition, as he was thus lying on the shore, pour a certain ointment upon him, frightn'd by the novelty and smell of which he fled into the deep ; nor was he seen till after many days he appear'd languid and sorrowful, yet soon recovering his strength, he repeated his former tricks and services. The magistrates flock'd from all quarters to behold the sight, by whose coming and stay this small republick was burthen'd with new expences : and last of all the place itself lost its former quiet and privacy. They agreed therefore to make away secretly
with

with the cause of this confluence. With what compassion, with what exuberance will you bewail, adorn, and elevate these particulars! tho' you are under no necessity of feigning or adding, since it will be sufficient if the things that are true be no way diminish'd.

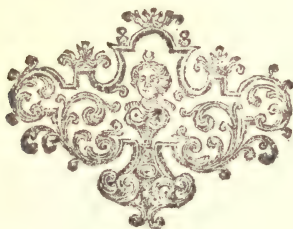
Farewell.

TO SATURNINUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 38.

I Must commend our friend RUFUS, not because you intreated me so to do, but because he most highly deserves it: for I have read over his Book, perfect in all respects; tho' the love I bear him made it so much the more agreeable. I judg'd however as I read: for they are not the only Critics who read to find fault.

Farewell,





A NEW
 DESCRIPTION
 OF
 EPSOM,
 WITH THE
 HUMOURS and POLITICKS
 of the Place:
 IN A LETTER TO
 EUDOXIA.

*Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter & situs agri:
 Continui montes, nisi dissociantur opacâ
 Valle; sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat sol,
 Lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.*

Hor. Epist. 16. lib. 1.

MADAM,



SINCE the place in which I pass
 the summer was thought fit, on a
 certain occasion you remember, to
 be compared with my mistress, who
 makes it summer wherever she is; you desire,
 that

that as I shew'd you the picture of the one, I would likewise send you a description of the other, and as like the original as may be. The right you have to every thing that is mine, makes this request a command; and therefore without any further difficulty or apology (ceremonies inconsistent with rural simplicity) be pleas'd to receive it as taken from the life at one sitting. But the performance is not so easy, especially in the manner, as is the promise of a thing. I am not ignorant, that you think correctness and elegance of stile as necessary to set off the plainest truth, as neatness of dress and politeness of manners are to recommend the most beautiful woman: a flatternly negligence, or a tawdry affectation, being no less disgusting in the one than in the other. Yet as there are several sorts of beauties, each having their peculiar charms, it is just so with writing. You know (without being one of those they call Virtuoso-Ladies) that there's the low and the sublime, the epistolary, the historical, the oratorical stile, with many other such differences. And in this Letter I fancy you'll easily agree, the stile ought to be a little luxuriant, like the subject it self. Nay you have enjoin'd me as a task, to be rather turgid than simple in a piece of serious amusement, where, you say, I ought to shew my self more a Poet than a Historian, yet still keeping close to the truth of the latter. Besides, that even unerring nature puts on her gayest apparel in
May,

May, and teaches us her children, by the example of the trees, of the plants, of the birds, and of every object that presents it self to our senses, to delight in the same innocent variety ; particularly in prospects, landscapes, and the descriptions of extraordinary places, such as I am now going to do my self the honour of sending you.

EPSOM (1), a village in the county of Surrey, much frequented for its most healthy Air and excellent mineral Waters, is distant about fourteen Italian miles from London-bridge, and twelve from Fox-hall. It is deliciously situated in a warm even bottom, antiently call'd Flower-dale, between the finest Downs in the world on one side (taking their name from the village of Bansted seated on their very ridge) and certain clay-hills on the other side, which are variously checquer'd with
woods

(1) The old Saxon name of this place was EBBESHEIM, which is to say *Ebba's home* or Palace, so called from EBBA, a Queen of this country: as afterwards EBBISHAM and EB'S-HAM, the corrupt pronunciation of this last word occasioning the present name of EPSOM. Surrey, and Suffex, with part of Hampshire, made up the Kingdom of the South Saxons, founded by the valiant ELLA, next after that of Kent, and continued in his posterity to ETHELWOLF, the first Christian King, whose Queen was EBBA, of whom THOMAS RUDBORNE, who wrote in the time of HENRY III. thus speaks in his *Manuscript Chronicle* in the COTTON Library (Nero A. 17.) *Regina vero nomine Ebbe in sua, id est Wiccianorum provincia, fuerat baptizata. Erat autem GUSTRIDI filia, fratris RUHERI, qui ambo cum suo populo Christiani fuerunt.* Guilford was the summer residence of the South Saxon Kings.

woods and groves of oak, ash, elm, and beech, with both the poplars, the intoxicating yew, and the florid white-beam. The wyche-tree, the withy, the horn-beam, the bird-feeding quicken-tree, and the correcting birch, are not wanting. I need not mention the numberless copses of hazel, thorn, holly, maple, and other trees and shrubs of dwarfish growth, that agreeably diversify all this country : nor that, for the most part, they are amorously claspt in the twining embraces of ivy and honey-suckles. The Downs, being cover'd with grass finer than Persian carpets, and perfum'd with wild thyme and juniper, run thirty miles in length, tho' under different appellations, from Croydon to Farnham : and for sheep-walks, riding, hunting, racing, shooting, with games of most sorts for exercise of the body or recreation of the mind, and a perpetual chain of villages within a mile of each other beneath, they are no where else to be parallel'd. The form of this our village, as seen from thence, is exactly semicircular ; beginning with a Church, and ending with a Palace : or, lest our stile here shou'd offend you, MADAM, it has a Palace for its head, and a Church for its tail. Mr. WHISTLER's far-conspicuous grove makes, as it were, a beautiful knot in the middle : as the road from thence to Wood-cote-green, may be call'd Midway-street. EPSOM never misses of the eastern or western Sun, and is about a mile in length ; the arca, within
the

the bending of the bow or half-moon, being a spacious plain of corn-fields, sown with every grain, and opening full to the downs. To these ever-green mountains of chalk you may out of every house insensibly ascend, without as much as a hedge to obstruct the air or the passage. Indeed the risings are many times so easy, that you find your self got to the top, without perceiving that you were mounting. From the circumference of the semicircle there branch out two or three pleasant lanes, being the extremities of the roads which lead to the town, from the slow declivities of the neighbouring hills. These are prefer'd to the principal street by such as are lovers of silence and retirement; and are known by the names of Clay-hill, New-inn-lane, and Woodcote-green, in which last place your humble servant has his hermitage. There are other alleys and outlets of meaner note. Among them I don't reckon the avenue leading up the hill to Durdans, the Palace I just now mention'd; nor yet Hudson's-lane, which I remember for the sake of Epfom-court, that antient Saxon (2) seat (long since converted into a farm) the mother and
original

(2) In old writings its likewise call'd Ebbysham-place; now only a great name, and nothing more to be seen, but an oblong square area rais'd higher than the other ground, on the south-east of the house. Abundance of wrought stone, of Roman bricks and tiles are often dug up about the farm; and some of the fields do yet preserve the name of a Park.

original of our subject. Now, all these by-places are so separated from each other by fields, meadows, hedge-rows, plantations, orchards and the like, that they seem to be so many distinct little villages, uniting into one considerable town at the large street, in the middle of which stands the watch-house. As I wish to see this last a more stately edifice; so I long to have the whole space about it, from the new-Parade down to the Spread-eagle, neatly pitch'd: considering that flint-stones are so near, so plentiful, and so cheap.

Several persons, who have chosen this sweet place of EPSOM for their constant abode, are distinguish'd from the rest by their habitations, as they are either by their birth or fortunes. As Sir JOHN WARD's house on Clay-hill, Sir EDWARD NORTHEY's on Woodcote-green, and Mr. ROTH's in New-inn-lane, whose canal on the top of a hill, with the soft walks on both sides, and the green mounts at each end, are very delightful. But among several other such houses, I shall make particular mention only of two. The first of these is Durdans, twice already mention'd; tho' the place is so well known, that I need not say any thing to set off the grove, or the house, or the situation. But it were to be wished, that the right honourable the Lord GUILFORD, owner, would on the eminence (which bounds his noble avenue from the downs) erect a stone Pillar inscrib'd TO HEALTH AND LIBERTY,

as the air is the most pure in that place, and unconfin'd, that can be. This pillar, after the manner of the antients, will also serve for a point of view according to the modern way : and will be no less beneficial to the town, nor less obliging to the company that frequent it, than ornamental to Durdans. Round the basis should be a seat of the same stone for the Ladies, who own they have for some time left off their laudable old custom of walking on the downs : not out of laziness or love to gaming, as they are scandalously aspers'd ; but, as they themselves more truly affirm, from the want of a resting place on this charming spot, by them call'd Mount Amoret. Nor seems indeed this spot to be of common earth, but rather magic ground ; for the persons who have not walk'd three evenings and three mornings (at the least) upon Mount Amoret, must not promise themselves any good from the air of Epsom : neither husbands, if they are maids ; nor, if batchelors, wives. The same is as true of the mount in Ashted Park, yet with this difference ; that if there you take your rounds either on horseback, or in a coach, then both the virtue of the place, and the merit of all your actions, will prove without any effect. The gladiator, in the middle of it, kindly warns you of the danger. Not the high-tufted trees nor the short-bitten lawns, not the gloomy coverts nor the lightsome glades, not the open prospects of APOLLO,

nor the retired walks of DIANA can avail you any thing, if you survey 'em not all on foot.

The other house in Epfom that requires a fpecial mention, is Mount Difton, fo nam'd from the owner, and from the round hillock near adjoining, which, rifing gently on all fides in a conic figure, terminates on the fummet in a circle, which is a hundred foot diameter, and divided into four equal quarters. The round and crofs walks of this circle are turf'd, and thofe triangular quarters planted with trees; which, after they are grown to their full height, will make a ftately land-mark over all this country. But tho' nothing feems more pleafing to the eye, than the near profpect of the town, or the diftant profpect quite around, yet you mount ftill higher nine and twenty fteps into an arbour or pavilion, on the top of an oak, that grows in the very edge of the circle, and whence your view is every way proportionably enlarg'd. Up to this circle there comes a double walk, divided by a range of trees from the beft garden, yet of very eafy afcent, three hundred and fifty five foot, which I call the north walk: and at the other end, there comes up to it likewise from the refervatory the fouth walk, three hundred and feventy foot; in both which the flopes feem wonderfully natural, yet artfully contrived. At the foot of the mount is a crofs walk, from north-eaft to fouth-weft, two hundred and ten foot, open at each end thro' handfom grills; and from
the

the court before the house there goes a walk from north-west to south-east, five hundred and fifty five foot, including the breadth of the court. Behind the house is a magnificent double Terrass, the middle of each being gravel, and turf on the sides, (which may be adorn'd with ever-green dwarfs) three hundred foot long; and the semi-circular slope, with proper squares, in the middle of this terrass, is eighty foot broad: to which you ascend out of the garden ten steps, being five steps to each terrass, and then ten steps more from the upper terrass into the house; all these steps, as well as those in the fore-court, being of excellent Portland stone. From the terrass, which I have said is three hundred foot long, there is continued in a straight line over the side of the mount, directly towards the downs, a walk finely turf'd, as are all the rest (except one private sand walk, and one gravel-walk) six hundred and fifty foot. And it must be acknowledg'd that Mr. ACKRES, in laying out this hill, wherein nature was the chief guide that he followed, has done justice to his art: nor is it to be doubted, but his genius will still appear with greater advantage in the garden as soon as he goes about it; there being not a more beautiful or convenient piece of ground for such a use any where. Let others judge as they please of the house and the conveniences about it, I shall confine my self to the peculiar objects of my own delight, which will add not a little to the pleasures of this place.

But remembring, MADAM, that I am to describe a village, and not a single house, I must needs say, that even the Houses of the very townsmen are every where mighty neat, built most of 'em after the newest manner, and extremely convenient, being purposely contrived for the entertainment of strangers, and therefore beautify'd by the owners to the utmost of their ability, to which the ruins of Nonfuch-palace have not a little contributed. The fronts are adorn'd throughout with rows of elm or lime-trees, in many places artificially wreathed into verdant Porticos, cut into variety of figures, and close enough wrought to defend those, who sit under such hospitable shades, from the injuries of the sun and the rain. Here sometimes breakfast and supper are taken, as at other times a chearful glass and a pipe: for these vegetable canopies, in the very heat of the day, yield a grateful and refreshing coolness, by the fanning breezes they collect from the delicate air of the downs. The finest of 'em all is that which shades the pay'd terrass in the centre of the town, extended quite along before the chief tavern and coffee-house. By the conversation of those, who walk there, you wou'd fancy your self to be this minute on the Exchange, and the next minute at St. James's; one while in an East-India factory or a West-India plantation, and another while with the army in Flanders or on board the fleet in the ocean. Nor is there any profes-

sion,

sion, trade, or calling, that you can miss of here, either for your instruction or for your diversion. Fronting this our Forum (as I may well call it) there is another of these shades, lately wrought over a pav'd walk of considerable length, which I just now call'd the New Parade. Behind the houses are handſom tho' not large Gardens, generally furnish'd with pretty walks, and planted with variety of fallads and fruit-trees ; which in ſeveral of 'em are all left free for the Lodgers. Such as neglect their gardens, find their error in the emptineſs of their rooms, as I wiſh they ever may. Thus when you are on the top of the downs, 'tis one of the lovelieſt proſpects imaginable, to view in the (3) vale below ſuch an agreeable mixture of trees and buildings, that a ſtranger is at a loſs to know (as it has been obſerv'd of my beloved city Leyden in Holland) whether it be a town in a wood, or a wood in a town.

One thing is wanting, and happy is the ſituation that wants no more! For in this place, (notwithſtanding the medicinal Waters, and ſufficient of ſweeter for domeſtic uſe) are not to be heard the precipitant murmurs of impetuous caſcades ; there are no purling ſtreams in our groves to temper

G 3

the

(3) This valley of Flower-Dale divides Walton and Hedley, and ends about a mile below Epsom, butting upon a hill on the other ſide Ewell river.

the shrill notes of the warbling choristers, whose never-ceasing concerts exceed BONCINI and CORELLI: the woods are not frequented by the unhappy, that they may listen to the soft whispers of some gentle rivulet to beguile and mitigate their cares; the vallies are not divided by the curling waves, and sporting whirl-pools of rapid rivers; neither are the flowry meads reviv'd by gliding meanders, cool bubbling springs, or stagnant lakes. I leave you to guess, whether in these periods I design'd to show how well read I am in bombast-romance, or rather to refresh the heated imagination, by exhibiting the various images under which water naturally delights us in the country. Ewell, an antient market-town within an easy mile, has a most plentiful spring, the head of a crystal brook; capable, were it here, to furnish a thousand ornaments and conveniences. And I am perswaded from physical reasons, that the digging a trench of a reasonable depth, for a quarter of a mile (along the rivulet over Epsom-court-meadows) from the now-uncertain springs in Church-street, would quickly produce a stream, that in three quarters of a mile farther should fall in with the other, and give it the more dignify'd name of Epsom-river. But this present defect (for I augurate an approaching remedy) is amply recompens'd by every thing besides.

The two rival Bowling-greens are not to be forgot, on which all the company by turns,
after

after diverting themselves in the morning according to their different fancies, make a gallant appearance every evening (especially on Saturdays and Mondays) musick playing most of the day, and dancing sometimes crowning the night: as every new comer is awaken'd out of his sleep the first morning, by the same music, which goes to welcome them to Epsom. The Ladies, to show their innate inclination to variety, are constantly tripping from one green to the other; and the Men are not more sure to follow 'em, than glad of the occasion, to excuse their own no less propensity to change.

Here the British beauties, like so many animated stars, shine in their brightest lustre; not half so much by their precious jewels and costly apparel, as by the more pointed glories of their eyes. Here every old man wishes himself young again, and the heart of every youth is captivated at once and divided between a thousand deserving charms. A fairer circle was never seen at Baiæ or Cumæ of old, nor of late at Carels-bad or Aix-la-chapelle, than is to be admir'd on both the Greens and in both the Long-rooms on a public day. If the German baths outnumber us in Princesses, we outshine 'em in Nymphs and Goddeses, to whom their Princes wou'd be proud to pay adoration. But not to dissemble any thing, bountiful nature has likewise provided us with other faces and shapes, I may add, with another set of dress, speech, and behavior (not

to mention ages) ordain'd to quench the cruel flames, or to damp the inordinate desires, which the young, the handsome, and the accomplish'd, might undesignedly kindle: so necessary is an antidote to love, where the disease is so catching and so fatal!

In the raffish shops are lost more hearts than guineas, tho' CUPID be no where so liberal as in England. And the greatest order, that in such cases can be expected (however to me it be a rout) is preserv'd at the gaming-tables of every kind; where it is very diverting for a stander by to observe the different humors and passions of both sexes, which discover themselves with less art and reserve at play, than on any other occasion. There you'll see a sparkish young fellow of twenty five, sitting right over a blooming beauty of eighteen, but so intent on gain and the dice, that he never exchanges a word or a look with her: while a little lower you may smile at an old hunk, that loves his mony as well as any in the city, yet losing it as fast as he plays, by having his eyes wholly off his cards, and fixt on a green girl of thirteen, that cares as little for any man there, as he does for his wife at home. The rude, the sullen, the noisy, and the affected, the peevish, the covetous, the litigious, and the sharpening, the proud, the prodigal, the impatient, and the impertinent, become visible foils to the well-bred, prudent, modest, and good humour'd, in the eyes of all impartial beholders. Our Doctors,

tors, instead of prescribing the waters for the vapors or the spleen, order their patients to be assiduous at all public meetings; knowing that (if they be not themselves of the number) they'll find abundant occasion to laugh at bankrupt fortune-hunters, crazy or superannuated beaus, marry'd coquets, intriguing prudes, richly dress'd waiting maids, and complimenting footmen. But being convinc'd, MADAM, that you dislike a malicious insinuation, as much as you approve an instructive hint, I abstain from all particular characters; sparing even those, who spare none but themselves.

From this account it is plain we are not quite in Heaven here, tho' we may justly be said to be in Paradise: a place cohabited by innocence and guilt, by folly and fraud, from the beginning. The judicious EUDOKA will naturally conclude, that such a concourse of all ranks of people, must needs fill the shops with most sorts of useful and substantial wares, as well as with finer goods, fancies, and toys. The Taverns, the Inns, and the Coffee-houses answer the resort of the place. And I must do our coffee-houses the justice to affirm, that for social virtue they are equal'd by few, and exceeded by none, tho' I wish they may be imitated by all. A Tory does not stare and leer when a Whig comes in, nor a Whig look sour and whisper at the sight of a Tory. These distinctions are laid by with the winter suit at London, and a gayer easier habit worn in the country: even

even foreigners have no reason to complain of being ill receiv'd in this part of the Island.

Religion, that was design'd to calm, does not ruffle mens tempers by irreligious wranglings: nor does our moderation appear by rude invectives against persons we do not know, no more than our charity does consist in fixing odious characters on such as unwillingly dissent from us. But, if at any time we must needs deal in extremes, then we prefer the quiet good-natur'd Hypocrite to the implacable turbulent Zealot of any kind. In plain terms, we are not so fond of any set of notions, as to think 'em more important than the peace of society. Curst be those Priests and Politicians (as they are sure to fall sooner or later a victim to good sense) who so industriously propagate discord and inhumanity in Britain! while in Holland (for example) tho' they differ, as all men must unavoidably do, in their sentiments of many things in Religion, and that they have opposite interests in the state; yet this is so far from exasperating, that it renders them more remarkably civil, as the certainest means to gain on each others persuasion, or at least on their good opinion. They are not branded there for their Creeds, nor their Faith ridiculously solicited with promises of favor or preferment; which wou'd be an infallible method to bring all persons void of honor or conscience to make an open profession of their national religion, and then (what's worst
of

of all) to cover their insincerity with the furious pretext of zeal. Private advantage (believe me) but not the fear of God or the love of man, is the adequate, the true, the only source both of Hypocrisy and Persecution : for a real persuasion is as far from needing any such interested baits, as an aversion to mens persons for the sake of their opinions is from being a mark of judgment or grace. Neither ecclesiastical savageness, nor political enthusiasm, follow these our best allies from the coffee-house to the tavern, nor from the exchange to their own tables, no, nor even to church itself : and the man, of what color or profession soever, wou'd be counted no less unmannerly than strangely assuming, that shou'd prescribe to another what company he ought to keep. His own after that wou'd be no longer coveted, nor indeed easily admitted. And I doubt not but some such magisterial sawciness of old, was the original of a present wise custom, which makes it scandalous for a sort of men (I will not name out of respect) to be seen in taverns or coffee-houses. This makes all people easy. No dictators, no informers. The Dutch (in a word) are so intermix'd and intermarry'd, that you can never guess at their sect or party by public conversation ; and, to do it, you must follow a man to his chapel or to his closet : for all promiscuous discourses on these subjects, are manag'd with the same cheerfulness and indifference, that they do any other topics.

pics. If we must needs emulate the Dutch, for heaven sake let's do it in these laudable respects, and not foolishly damn 'em for being more industrious than our selves. In the mean time, let the wise and well-meaning, the able and honest of all denominations, heartily join together to carry on the public cause, and mutually bear with one another's incurable differences or infirmities, becoming in this last respect perfect *Interpendants*. Let free-born Britons be the common designation for the future; and no distinction be known among us, but only of such as are for civil liberty, toleration, and the protestant succession, and of such others as are for absolute slavery, persecution, and a popish pretender.

A just indignation at our senseless quarrels has extorted this censure, like some episode in a Poem. But (that I may not digress too far, tho' in a place where you may ramble long enough without fearing to lose your way) I am pretty sure I shall be forgiven this transport for Unity by our Governor himself. So we usually call, MADAM, a Gentleman of our society here. that for good humor, good breeding, and good living, is esteem'd by all those who possess or understand these qualities. He's a profest enemy to all party-disputes, he's the arbiter of all differences; and in promoting the interest of this town, which he has frequented for many years, 'tis plain that he looks upon virtue as its own reward. His choice of the place is

3

of

of a piece with his judgment in every thing : for as England is the plentifullest country on earth, so no part of it is supply'd with more diversity of the best provisions, both from within itself and from the adjacent villages, than Epsom. The nearness of London does in like manner afford it all the exotic preparatives and allurements to luxury, whenever any is dispos'd to make a sumptuous banquet, or to give a genteel collation. You wou'd think yourself in some enchanted camp, to see the peasants ride to every house with the choicest fruits, herbs, roots, and flowers, with all sorts of tame and wild fowl, with the rarest fish and venison, and with every kind of butcher's meat, among which Bansted-down mutton is the most relishing dainty.

Thus to see the fresh and artless damsels of the plain, either accompany'd by their amorous swains or aged parents, striking their bargains with the nice court and city Ladies, who, like Queens in a Tragedy, display all their finery on benches before their doors (where they hourly censure, and are censur'd) and to observe, how the handsomest of each degree equally admire, envy, and cozen one another, is to me one of the chief amusements of the place. The Ladies who are too lazy or too stately, but especially those that sit up late at play, have their provisions brought to their bed-side, where they conclude the bargain ; and then (perhaps after a dish of Chocolate) take t'other nap, till what
they

they have thus bought is got ready for dinner. Yet these rounds of the Haglers (which I would have by no means abolish'd, and which may be call'd a travelling market) are not incompatible with a daily fix'd Market in the middle of the town, not only as a farther entertainment for the Ladies, who love occasions of coming together, no less than the men, but likewise because a greater choice of every thing may be had there, and at all hours, than possibly can be at their doors: nor would it be more advantageous to the meaner sort for cheapness, than convenient for the neighbouring Gentry on many accounts.

The new fair during the Easter holy-days, and that on the twenty fourth of July, are as yet of little moment, tho' capable in time to be highly improv'd. Even VENUS had a mole; and gossiping is the greatest objection I have ever heard made to E R-S O M. But besides that this is common to it, with all places of narrow compass, especially places of public resort: so, next to not deserving any censure at all, the best remedy is, not to mind the unavoidable chat of idle people, who are generally sufferers in the end. But what fence is there any where against ignorance and prejudice? When I have known at Hampstead some house-keepers so silly, as to let their rooms stand empty, rather than to fill them with Jews: tho' these people are known to give as good rates as any other whatsoever, and that they are as

ready

ready to promote all the diversions of the place. Yet, tho' ignorance and prejudice, as I said, do thrive amain every where in the world; so wise men will ever be easy in spite of both.

So much for the Town. Nor is my pleasure diminish'd by excursions out of it: for no where has nature indulg'd her self in grateful variety, more than in this canton. The old Wells at half a mile's distance, which formerly us'd to be the meeting place in the forenoon, are not at present so much in vogue; the waters, they say, being found as good within the village, and all diversions in greater perfection. The view from the fertile Common in which they lye, is, as from every elevation hereabouts, wonderfully delightful; especially so distinct a prospect of London at so great a distance. But the fortuitous cure of a leprous shepherd (an origin attributed to these in common with other such Wells) appears even hence to be fabulous, that they have never since had the like effect: tho' otherwise these aluminous waters are experienc'd to be very beneficial in gently cleansing the (4) body, in cooling the head, and purifying the blood; the salt, that is chymically made of 'em, being famous over all Europe. Yet the cold Bath, lately erected on the bottom of this pretended miracle, meets with as little encouragement, as the old story it self does with belief; it not being the fashion in this, as in some other countries, to have all salutiferous

Waters

(4) *Infirmi capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo. Hor. Epist. 16. lib. 1.*

waters under the inspection of the parson, or the protection of a saint. The hunting of a Pig there every monday morning, when the only knack consists in catching and holding him up by the tail, is infinitely more becoming the boys that perform it, than the spectators that employ 'em. As for a cold Bath, Ewell would by much be the properest place; since, by reason of the spring, the water may not only be chang'd for every new comer, but a basin be likewise made adapted for swimming, which on such occasions was the practice of the antients.

But to shift our scenes: from the Ring on the most eminent part of the Downs, where I have often counted above sixty coaches on a Sunday evening, and whence the painter must take his view when he represents Epsom, you may distinctly see nine or ten counties in whole or in part. Besides the imperial city of London, very many considerable towns, and an infinite number of country-seats, you also see the two Royal Palaces of Windsor and Hampton-Court. Within a mile and a half is the place, and only the place, where that other splendid Palace of Nonsuch (5) lately stood: a fit subject of reflection for those, who are inclined to moralize on the frailty, uncertainty, and vicissitude of all things. You may from thence, further perceive with your glass, the ruins
of

(5) A great part of it stood in my own time, and I have spoken with those that saw it entire.

of the most antient Palace of Eltham in Kent, and that of Oatlands in this same county of Surry ; where was likewise the Saxon Royal seat of Croydon, the modern one of Richmond, the royal manor of Wokeing, with several more of this rank, which shews the good taste of our former Kings. But not to quit our Downs for any court, the great number of Gentlemen and Ladies, that take the air every evening and morning on horseback, and that range either singly or in separate companies over every hill and dale, is a most entertaining object. You can never miss of it on the fine grounds of the new orbicular Race, which may well be term'd a rural Cirque. The four-mile course over the Warren-house to Carsalton, a village abounding in delicious springs as much as we want 'em, seldom likewise fails to afford me this pleasure : having all the way in my eye (like some cynosure) the tufted trees of the old Roman fortification (6) Burrough, properly situated to crown the downs, and once in my opinion reigning over all the groves. I except not that of Durdans famous for love, nor even Ashted-mount the mansion of the graces. Sutton and Cheam, tho' not too low, are yet in

VOL. II. H winter

(6) I am not the first that made BURGH a Roman fortress ; for, in the posthumous edition of Dr. GALE'S *Annotations on ANTONINE'S Itinerary*, it will be found there were Roman Garrisons, not only at Burrough (call'd by the Saxons Burgh from the old fort) but likewise at Ben'sbury by Wimbledon, at Gatton, and such other advantageous posts near the city NOVIOMAGUM or Woodcote-warren.

winter too (7) dirty; as Walton and Hedley are both too windy, too (8) woody, and therefore in summer too close.

This I insert for your information, noblest CHERUSCUS, to whom I'm confident EUDOKA will communicate this Letter; since you have wisely resolv'd (as you do every thing) to purchase a summer retreat, cost what it will, somewhere in this neighbourhood. But whether you gently step over my favorite Meadows, planted on all sides quite to (9) Woodcot-seat, in whose long grove I ofteneft converse with my self: or that you walk further on to Ashted-house and Park, the sweetest spot of ground in our British world: or ride still further to the enchanting prospect of Box-hill, that temple of nature, no where else to be equall'd for affording so surprizing and magnificent an idea both of heaven and earth: whether you lose yourself in the aged yew-groves of Mickle-ham, as the river Mole does hide itself in the (10) Swallows beneath, or that you had rather try your
patience

(7) The dirtiness of Cheam is not the fault of the place, which is naturally dry, but proceeds from the negligence of the inhabitants; from which imputation, I wish Epsom it self were wholly free.

(8) This objection is not like to continue long, since so many woods have been fell'd and grubb'd up of late, that the country is rather in danger of being left too bare: tho' the raising of wood for timber, or fuel, or shelter, or ornament, be the easiest thing in the world; and that we are no less bound to make this provision for posterity, than our Ancestors have done it for us.

(9) It belongs to the right honourable the Lord BALTIMORE.

(10) See the description of Box-hill.

patience in angling for trouts about Leather-head : whether you go to some cricket-match and other prizes of contending villagers, or chuse to breath your horse at a (11) Race, and to follow a pack of hounds in the proper season : whether, I say, you delight in any or every one of these, EPSOM is the place you must like before all (12) others.

I that love the country entirely, and to partake in some measure of most diversions (except gaming) have fixt my residence here ; where I continue the whole summer, and whither I withdraw frequently in winter. Nor are these I now nam'd my only inducements : for as I prefer Retirement to Solitude, and so wou'd have it in my power to be alone or in company at pleasure, I cou'd be no where better fitted besides ; every body meeting his acquaintance on the Bowling-greens, in the Coffee-houses, in the Long-rooms, or on the Downs ; and few visiting others at their houses unless particularly invited, or where friendship has made all things common. 'Tis otherwise among themselves with chance-lodgers, who come purely for diversion. In two or three hours time I can be at London, whenever I will, at my ease ; and, if I have no business in town, I can receive all the public news as well, and almost as soon, at EPSOM : se-

H 2

veral

(11) Banstead-downs are very famous for horse-matches, as there is not a properer place in the world for this sport,

(12) Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet. *Hor. Od. 6. lib. 2.*

veral stage-coaches going and returning every day, with town and country waggons more than once a week; not to mention the ordinary post, that arrives every morning, Sundays excepted. Thus I remove at pleasure, as I grow weary of the country or the town, as I avoid a crowd, or seek (13) company.

Here then, EUDOKA, let me have Books and Bread enough without dependance, a bottle of Hermitage and a plate of Olives for a select friend; with an early rose to present a young Lady, as an emblem of discretion no less than of beauty: and I ingloriously resign (from that minute) my share of all titles and preferments to such as are in love with hurry, pay court to envy, or divert themselves with care; to such as are content to square their lives by the smiles or frowns of others, and who are resolv'd to live poor that they may die rich. Let some therefore hide their aking scars under laurels, or raise estates to their children by ruining their clients, or squander the gettings of their fathers in corrupting elections against their country; while others kill whom they can't cure, or preach what they don't believe: but grant me, ye powers, luxurious tranquillity!

You

(13) Hæc mihi non procul urbe sita est, nec prorsus ad urbem;
Ne patiar turbas, utque bonis potiar:
Et quoties mutare locum fastidia cogunt,
Transco; & alternis rure vel urbe fruor.

Auson. Edyl. 3.

You have here, MADAM, the description that you demanded of EPSOM, and my reasons for liking the place. But the main attractive is still unsaid. I have other Mistresses that charm me in the neighbourhood, beside those which may be gain'd with some address and pains in a town so well stock'd with beauties. I make no question, but you'll presently think, I mean the lonely Shepherdesses on the wide downs, or the plain farmers daughters as they go to hay-making, to harvest, a nutting, a milking, or perhaps to turn in or out their harmless cattle: amours that Gods and Heroes have not disdain'd. This, I repeat it, will be your first thought, which wou'd be uncivil in me to contradict. But I know your next reflection will be, that I allude to the nine Muses, which meet me in every lawn and every grove, in every shady bower and solitary glade. MINERVA is to be met on our downs as well as (14) DIANA: and if ever I go a hunting, 'tis always (as a learned Roman has recorded of himself) with a pocket-book and a pencil, that if I happen to take nothing, I may yet bring something (15) home. Nor is this all. To us lovers of the country, the lowing of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the piping of shepherds

H 3

herds

(14) *Experieris non Dianam magis montibus quàm Minervam inerrare. Plin. lib. 1. epist. 6.*

(15) *Venor aliquando: sed non sine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. Idem lib. 9. Epist. 36.*




T H E
P R I M I T I V E
C O N S T I T U T I O N
O F T H E
C H R I S T I A N C H U R C H,

With an Account of the principal Controversies about Church-Government, which at present divide the Christian World.

C H A P. I.

The Occasion and Argument of the Work.

I.  INCE Religion, SIR, no longer signifies an institution that informs the mind, and rectifies the manners, but is become the distinguishing name of Sect and Party; happy is that man who is not so rigidly narrow, sour, uneasy, and censorious, as his Religion wou'd make him, if it be in a suffering

suffering condition ; nor so intolerably insolent, vexatious, oppressing, and destructive, as if it has the countenance of authority. The one of these hates the man who excludes him from publick trust, he severely observes his failings, and watches an opportunity to shake off his yoke : the other will engross to himself all preferments, he unmercifully punishes the exposèr of his actions, and keeps him down the more to prevent his revenge. Mutual exasperations must necessarily follow ; then Persecutions, Depopulations, Tumults, and Wars. This makes it of the greatest consequence therefore to any good Government, that the principal members of it be rightly inform'd, and have due notions, not only of what's true in speculation, but likewise of what's useful in practice, or beneficial to the society. And if they begin with the last, they may be sure to discover the first : for nothing that serves to lessen the quiet, peace, union, and happiness of men, can be true Religion ; since one of its main ends (and perhaps the chiefest in this world) is to retain 'em the more effectually in their several duties.

II. BUT what disposes me more readily than my duty it self, SIR, to write on this subject for your satisfaction, is, that I cannot remember to have ever met with a certain Gentleman (whom I need not name or describe to you, and who has more opportunities than I to be about your person) but he
presently

presently magnify'd the Church, rail'd against Schismatics, or express his abhorrence of Hereticks. Nor, to do him justice, is he singular in this; for most other men talk with admiration of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Order of Priesthood, without which they believe that no Religion or community can subsist. That this opinion has long and largely reign'd, I acknowledge; tho', to speak freely, I do not for all that think the Clergy to be the Church, nor, where they differ from other men, to be any part of the Christian Religion. I do not admit the Church it self to be a Society under a certain form of Government and Officers; or that there is in the world at present, and that there has continu'd for 1704 years past, any constant System of Doctrine and Discipline maintain'd by such a Society, deserving the title of the Catholick Church, to which all particular Churches ought to conform or submit, and with which all private persons are oblig'd to hold communion. Much less do I believe that there was instituted in the Church a peculiar Order of Priests (tho' Christian Priests I do allow) no Priests, I say, whose office it is to instruct the People alone, and successively to appoint those of their own function, whether by the hands of one presiding Bishop, or of several equal Presbyters, Pastors, Ministers, or Priests of any degree or denomination. And least of all will I grant, that either Princes or Priests may justly damnify any person in his reputation,

reputation, property, liberty, or life, on the account of his religious Profession ; nor lay him under any incapacities for not conforming to the national manner of Worship, provided he neither professes nor practises any thing repugnant to human Society, or the civil Government where he lives.

III. THESE are not the means instituted by CHRIST and his Apostles, nor directed by true prudence to support the dignity and power of Religion : neither is it difficult for any man, not partial or negligent, to find out those means ; nor impossible to put them in execution, when discover'd. There is a vast difference between the Doctrine of CHRIST, and the methods appointed to propagate or to preserve it. Now this is the very case : for it is not out of a regard to his ordination, degree or function (of all which in their places) that a Priest is reckon'd a Christian ; but only as he believes the Doctrines, and practises the Duties taught by JESUS CHRIST ; which is common to him with all other persons ; or otherwise none but a Priest cou'd be properly said to be of any Religion. Yet since it became more advantageous to be a servant to the Church than one of its members, and more honourable to be a Priest than a mere Christian ; Religion, by which they get no more than others, has been generally neglected by the Clergy ; and Discipline, wherein consists all their power and profit, is made almost

most the sole argument of their preaching and disputes. Discipline, and not Religion, occasion'd the Schism of the East and West. Hence arose the first and principal contests betwixt the Papist and the Protestants: from the same cause proceeded the impositions of the English Hierarchy upon the Dissenters from it; nor are the latter divided into Presbyterians and Independents on any other score. In a word, much the greatest part of the inhuman barbarities, controversies, and divisions of Christians, with nine parts in ten of the religious volumes they have written, owe their being to the opposite factions of Priests, and to their various forms of Church-Government.

IV. THUS while the Clergy are contending for their own superiority and advantage, the Laity (as if they were afraid to suffer for their neutrality) warmly take sides in a quarrel wherein they are not in the least concern'd: only that the great point in debate is commonly about the likeliest means of making themselves slaves, without their perceiving it; or how to keep 'em in subjection, shou'd they grow weary of their chains. This is self-evident in the dispute about Occasional Conformity, which divides our Nation at present, and is like to give us more disturbance in time to come. Yet 'tis Discipline and not Religion, not Christianity but the Church, that is the occasion of those unnatural heats, scandalous libels, bitter

bitter inveſtives, foul aſperſions, malicious reports, and irreconcilable factions, which from thence have taken their riſe, or that make it a new pretence to cover antient animofities. The worſt part of the Epifcopal Clergy endeavour moſt ſtrenuouſly to bring all the grift to their own mills ; and the moſt ignorant among the Diſſenting Miniſters ſtruggle as ſtoutly to keep back thoſe by whoſe cuſtom they get their livelihood : while the honeſt men on all ſides make large allowances and concessions, without being violent or uncharitable in any thing .The honour and authority of both is nearly concern'd in the number of their adherents. Ambitious Stateſmen ſtimulate and encourage the one, or protect and uphold the other (how indifferent ſoever they may be to the merits of the cauſe) as it contributes to ſerve their own private purpoſes, or to gratify the aims of the Prince. And all this while the People, who are the very play-thing and foot-ball of theſe cunning gameſters, are with much addreſs made to believe, that their good and happineſs is the grand matter in queſtion ; each party pretending to be zealouſly eſpouſing their intereſts, or, to be ſure, the People wou'd not be ſuch fools as to eſpouſe theirs. Nevertheleſs, which ever ſide they defend or oppoſe, which ever faction they deſert or embrace, they are neither more nor leſs Chriſtians than they were before : they learn no new ſpiritual Doctrinẽ, nor no new moral du-

most the sole argument of their preaching and disputes. Discipline, and not Religion, occasion'd the Schism of the East and West. Hence arose the first and principal contests betwixt the Papist and the Protestants: from the same cause proceeded the impositions of the English Hierarchy upon the Dissenters from it; nor are the latter divided into Presbyterians and Independents on any other score. In a word, much the greatest part of the inhuman barbarities, controversies, and divisions of Christians, with nine parts in ten of the religious volumes they have written, owe their being to the opposite factions of Priests, and to their various forms of Church-Government.

IV. THUS while the Clergy are contending for their own superiority and advantage, the Laity (as if they were afraid to suffer for their neutrality) warmly take sides in a quarrel wherein they are not in the least concern'd: only that the great point in debate is commonly about the likeliest means of making themselves slaves, without their perceiving it; or how to keep 'em in subjection, shou'd they grow weary of their chains. This is self-evident in the dispute about Occasional Conformity, which divides our Nation at present, and is like to give us more disturbance in time to come. Yet 'tis Discipline and not Religion, not Christianity but the Church, that is the occasion of those unnatural heats, scandalous libels, bitter

bitter invectives, foul aspersions, malicious reports, and irreconcilable factions, which from thence have taken their rise, or that make it a new pretence to cover antient animosities. The worst part of the Episcopal Clergy endeavour most strenuously to bring all the grist to their own mills ; and the most ignorant among the Dissenting Ministers struggle as stoutly to keep back those by whose custom they get their livelihood : while the honest men on all sides make large allowances and concessions, without being violent or uncharitable in any thing .The honour and authority of both is nearly concern'd in the number of their adherents. Ambitious Statesmen stimulate and encourage the one, or protect and uphold the other (how indifferent soever they may be to the merits of the cause) as it contributes to serve their own private purposes, or to gratify the aims of the Prince. And all this while the People, who are the very play-thing and foot-ball of these cunning gamesters, are with much address made to believe, that their good and happiness is the grand matter in question ; each party pretending to be zealously espousing their interests, or, to be sure, the People wou'd not be such fools as to espouse theirs. Nevertheless, which ever side they defend or oppose, which ever faction they desert or embrace, they are neither more nor less Christians than they were before : they learn no new spiritual Doctrine, nor no new moral du-

ty ; and consequently they become neither wiser nor better men.

V. WITH all this, SIR, be pleas'd to do justice to those that deserve it, when you are so prone to be merciful to offenders : for you are not to imagine that every man goes upon one or other of these false bottoms ; and that those very persons who defend the truth among us, are only in the right by accident. There are those in the Court, in the Senate, of the Church, of the Law, and in the Camp, in the capital City, and in all parts of the country, who are not the servile flatterers, nor implicit followers of other mens Opinions ; who seek neither profit nor applause, nor authority nor revenge : but who oppose all arbitrary impositions on the Understanding or Consciences of men, from a generous affection to their own species, out of a right knowledge of human nature, and for advancing the flourishing state of the commonwealth. Not (as many do, who yet are not the worst rank of men) for temporary ends and politick accommodations, but from a deep and just sense of impartial, full, divine, and eternal liberty. These are the persons to whom the nation is indebted for wealth and tranquillity at home, for power and reputation abroad : whereas the first would soon be ruin'd, and the second be sooner lost, might those of narrow affections, bigotted notions, of sordid or ambitious inclinations, manage
affairs,

affairs, and overbear the rest. These are the men, who having receiv'd their light and knowledg from reasonable arguments, are not for converting others by dint of blows; who leave all parties their free choice, without being unsettled or indifferent in their own Faith; and who, tho' they act themselves on true Principles, are often oblig'd to work on the prepossessions of their neighbours, to procure a majority in favour of truth. May they receive the excellent and unspeakable rewards of Virtue! may their names and actions be faithfully transmitted to posterity! and may their worthy examples be emulously follow'd by those of the present and the future time, by this nation, and by all the regions of the earth!

VI. BUT all other sorts of men are so transported by their passions, or so intent on their particular views and designs, that they are deaf to whatever can be said to 'em on this subject. Interest never considers right or wrong, but power and advantage. And let a man offer the clearest demonstrations, his pains will be thrown away on such as are guided more by prejudice or custom, than by reason and convenience. But since I write to one who professes a greater love for truth, than fondness for any Church or form in the world; who declares he'll never think himself too old nor too great to learn; and that he'll neither be ashamed nor afraid to change, whenever he

meets with sufficient motives: I shall therefore with all imaginable plainness deliver my own sentiments, which I have not adopted out of singularity, since I have not sought renown by publishing them under my name; nor yet out of interest, since they are not the opinions to which rewards or preferments are annexed; and least of all from education, since there's no place nor society wherein they are publicly taught. But I have, by a free enquiry and diligent application, learnt them from the dictates of right reason, from my own observations on the best governments in the world, and from the original Constitution of Christianity.

VII. AS I call all things by their proper names, so I endeavour to restore Words to their genuine significations, and to rescue them from sophistry, ambiguity, and obscurity. Many, without designing any fraud, impose on others by the expressions they use in an undetermin'd sense, and are by the same confusion alike deceiv'd in their turn. To employ terms sometimes one way, and sometimes another, pretending all the while to mean but one thing, is a dishonest artifice, a sophism in logick, and whereof the author must probably be ever conscious to himself. But to define your words, and to assign the idea you defend or oppose, is not only the fairest dealing, but also the safest; and, between unfeign'd enquirers after truth, 'tis the most certain

certain way to shorten controversies, as well as for men to differ without breach of charity, without indecent language, or mutual difesteem. Where I agree with others, I think not my self the less in the wrong merely for that, nor the more in the right where I disagree with them ; neither theirs nor my bare opinion being of any weight against truth. And as no party wou'd be thought to maintain all my notions, because they may like some of 'em ; so I wou'd not be denominated from any party for approving them in certain things, whereas I may disapprove them in more. It is no small artifice to give nicknames in Religion, and to bestow an odious or a creditable title, according to the words in present fashion : for what's the bugbear of one age is the honour of another ; nay, what was twenty years ago the blackest crime, is now in many cases the brightest merit : and the only thing to which most are constant, is, that if a man's not found within the pale of some certain Sect, he's look'd upon by all as an outlying deer, which it's lawful for every one to kill. But notwithstanding my foreknowledge of this matter, yet, as I shall not ambitiously assume the name of any party, neither shall I be concern'd what name they'll please to impose upon me, so long as I know my self to be a hearty well-wisher to mankind, a sincere lover of my country, and your no less faithful than dutiful Servant. Do me this justice, SIR, and proceed.

Of the Christian Religion.

I. **W**HEN JESUS CHRIST, the most resplendent sun of sanctity, justice, and knowledge, begun to disperse those thick clouds of ignorance which from the Jews and Gentiles had much obscur'd the perfect truth, he engag'd his principal followers in the noble task of rescuing men from the tyranny of custom, fraud, and force : and (instead of superstitious practices, introduc'd by the foolish, and improv'd by the crafty ; instead of unintelligible theories, calculated as much for the authority of some, as for the subjection of others) he fixt the true notion of one God, and declar'd how he becomes propitious to rebellious man ; he taught repentance and remission of sins ; he injoin'd faith in himself as the MESSIAS and deliverer ; he brought life and immortality to light, and settl'd morality upon its just and natural foundation.

II. HIS Disciples, with a zeal becoming the last commands of their divine master (who suffer'd an ignominious death for the glorious cause of truth, and for the salvation of mankind) perform'd their part with almost equal danger and success. These extraordinary persons were from their several provinces call'd some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers ;
and

and some by more of these names, as they were at certain times differently imploy'd, according to the several dialects of the places where they preach'd, or as synonymous terms in the same language and country. They were ty'd to no certain place nor constant residence, having generously undertaken, to the utmost of their power, to diffuse the Christian Doctrine among all nations of the earth, and to provide effectual means for the preservation of it wheresoever they planted it; tho' to the hazard of their own lives, and ready to seal the truth of it with their blood. When it came immediately out of their hands, it was no less plain and pure than useful and necessary; and, as being the concern of every man, it was equally understood by every body, as it was in reality promiscuously offer'd to all sorts and degrees of men. CHRIST did not institute one Religion for the learned, and another for the vulgar. It is recorded on the contrary, that (1) *the common People heard him gladly*, that (2) *he preach'd the Gospel to the Poor*; and he was not only follow'd by divers of the female sex, but also among the converts of PAUL are reckon'd (3) *of the honourable Women not a few*. This supposes that having a good disposition, they easily comprehended the evidence of the Christian Doctrine, which therefore they imbrac'd and

I 2

prefer'd

(1) *Mat. xii. 37.*(2) *Mat. xi. 5.*(3) *Acts xvii. 12.*

prefer'd to their own native but less edifying Religions.

III. AND certainly one of the most distinguishing advantages of true Christianity is this, that neither poverty, nor want of letters, nor the hurry of particular callings, can hinder any person from acquiring it, without which it cou'd not be properly a perfect Religion: but rather on the same foot with the ceremonial worship of the Jews, with the secret mysteries of the Heathens, and with the abstruse doctrines of the Philosophers; whereas it supplies the imperfections of the first, prevents the imposture of the second, and excludes the difficulties of the third. Not the borrow'd terms or positions of antient perplexing sophisters, not the barbarous jargon and idle distinctions of later scholastick wranglers, neither the precarious hypotheses and nice subtilties of conceited doctors, nor the pretended inspirations and ridiculous visions of extravagant enthusiasts, were then erected into Articles of Faith. Truth was not then made the sport of chance, and tumultuously decided by the votes of factions; nor any thing deliver'd for truth, but what visibly tended to make men either the wiser or the better. Curious questions about the Person of CHRIST were not substituted by his Apostles to his Doctrines; the circumstantialia were not made the fundamentals, nor the history of Christianity transform'd into the essence

fence of the same. That idolatry, those fables, this pomp and pageantry, were not so early father'd upon himself, which then he was known actually to abolish and destroy. Nor cou'd he be then represented as the favourer of tyranny, or the founder of a more formal, superstitious, and imposing Priesthood than the Levitical, when he expressly declar'd all his true followers (4) to be *Kings and Priests*, that is, the disposers of their own liberty and the ministers of their own sacrifices, as being voluntary members of society, and the worshippers of God in spirit and truth.

IV. AND here, as a most tractable learner, I wou'd address my self to those that are more knowing, desiring information in this point ; namely, to what purpose any thing can serve, which does not render us either wiser or better men than we were before? For what produces neither of these effects, cannot be comprehended, and therefore in that respect is wholly useless ; since what we don't understand cannot make us the wiser, and if we are not the wiser, how can we be the better? But if this be granted (as I can yet perceive no reason why it shou'd not) then I wou'd again be inform'd why nations, provinces, families, friends, and acquaintance shou'd be disturb'd, why all union shou'd be dissolv'd, affections divided, laws subverted, or governments unhing'd,

I 3

about

about such things as no mortal can either conceive to himself or explain to others? as the Judgments and Decrees of God; the manner of his Subsistence, of his will, or understanding; the immediate State of departed Souls; the Resurrection of the same numerical body; with other subjects which are thought more easy, but which are not better known. Yet hence in great part proceed the inhuman divisions of Christians, tho' this be not the only nor the greatest cause: whereas nothing can be wiser, plainer, truer, and consequently more divine, than what CHRIST and his Apostles have propos'd about the means of reconciling God to sinners; of purifying the mind, and rectifying the manners; of illuminating the understanding, guiding the conscience, and directing particular duties; of confirming the hopes of recompence to the good, and denouncing the dread of punishment to the bad; of propagating mutual love, forbearance, and peace among all mankind; of cementing, maintaining, and supporting civil society.

V. THE whole Christian Religion was successively and occasionally committed to writing by certain of the Apostles, Evangelists, and other Disciples; and it summarily consists in the belief and observation of the truths that were taught by its founder JESUS CHRIST. This, and this only, entitles men to the name of Christians; not the prescriptions of time or succession, not the fancy'd prerogatives of any

any places or persons. Whoever therefore receives the doctrines, and practises the commands of the Gospel, is a true Christian, however he came by his Religion ; whether under the discipline of masters, or by his own private industry and study. Nor can there be assign'd any good reason in the world, why a man may not learn his duty, settle his belief, and form the conduct of his life, by reading the volume entitl'd the NEW TESTAMENT, which contains the originals of the Christian Religion ; as another may regulate his persuasion and manners, by reading the Dialogues of PLATO, which contain the speculations and morals of that Philosopher. To say that to be a Platonist is an indifferent thing, but not so of a Christian, is one of those unwary expressions by which people know not what they mean themselves. For if Platonism be truth, none ought to be indifferent to it, unless where the matter of it is indifferent in itself ; nor even in such a case can any body be indifferent to a truth that is made evident to him, unless we cou'd believe or disbelieve as we please, which is a thing in no man's power to do, whatever he may think fit to say. And if Platonism be false (as certainly in many things it is) then no person ought to be indifferent about imbracing a system which he ought most carefully to examin, lest he be mistaken in his reasons, and consequently misled in his actions. But if it be meant that none shou'd be com-

pell'd either to disbelieve or to profess Platonism, or any other Sect of Philosophy, the same is as true of Christianity; the preaching of the Gospel, and the conviction of conscience, being the only just and ordinary means to propagate it. The speculative Doctrines of it are offer'd to the light of internal persuasion, and the moral Precepts of it are left to the care of external laws.

VI. I am not ignorant that, on the contrary, Christians are pretended to be members of a form'd Society, into which they are admitted by peculiar Rites, which must be only perform'd by special Officers divinely commission'd to that end, and to whose Government all the members are to be in constant subjection; as they are to be justly censur'd or expell'd, if they do not conform to the laws by which those officers claim their authority. That this has been for more than a thousand years past, as it is at present, the sense of most (tho' not of all) Christian Societies or Churches, however they may differ among themselves as to the nature or extent of their Power, Ordination, or Function, I do most freely confess; as, on the other hand, I think I have good grounds to affirm it not to have been so from the beginning, not to be the true intention of the writings of the New Testament, nor to be the most reasonable sense that can be put upon them, and much less to follow from
 4 thence

thence by any evidence or necessity. This is what I shall now endeavor to shew, and is the Argument of the following Chapters, wherein the proofs of it are to be sought, and not here in the Introduction, as I myself shall take no such positive assertions for an answer from others.

VII. BUT before I begin this task, I think it not wide from my purpose to shew, how much nobler and more generous ideas some of (those they call) the antient Fathers had of Christianity ; conceptions, I say, much more worthy and just than many of them, who, in our times, are not a little proud to stile themselves their sons. But let it be always remember'd that I am none of those froward and undutiful children, such as they have all been without exception, that comply with the will of their fathers only when it suits with their own, but that roundly disobey and reject it when it thwarts or contradicts their favorite notions, which is the constant practice of every party. And that this is no more than the naked truth, I desire that Church, nay, or that one man in the world to be nam'd, who agrees with every thing in all the Fathers, or in any one Father whatsoever. What I am therefore going to alledge, is left to impartial consideration, not from the authority of the persons, but from the reason of the things themselves, compar'd with the testimony of the Scriptures:

tures : for matters are come at present to that pass in the world, that I expect no thanks, but rather ill-will for what I have said in commendation of the Christian Religion ; especially from those (whoever they be) that have chang'd it into an art of gain, and a system of contention. Thus in the first preaching of it, such as glory'd in being the only true Church did most strenuously oppose its progress, and the Priests were of all others its fiercest enemies. Nor ought this to be reputed a wonder, since there is no such satyr in nature against Priest-craft as the Gospel of CHRIST ; which so exasperated the corrupt Priests of his time, that after growing weary of their captious disputes, malicious calumnies, invidious insinuations, opprobrious language, scurrilous reflections, false representations, and cruel persecutions, (the common and perpetual arts of the interested patrons of error) they never rested till they brought him at last to the scandalous death of the cross.

VIII. BUT not to digress : *Those who live according to Reason* (says (5) JUSTIN MARTYR) *are Christians, tho' they be reputed Atheists. Such among the Greeks were SOCRA- TES, and HERACLITUS, and all like to them : and such among the Barbarians were ABRAHAM, and ANANIAS, and AZARIAS, and MISAEL, and ELIAS, and many others, whose*
names

(5) Apol. II. Edit. Par. p. 83.

names and actions, because we think it tedious, we shall not at present rehearse. How much more charitable is this opinion, than that of almost all Christians at this time and for several ages past ! who condemn SOCRATES, with all the pious, virtuous, just, heroick, and excellent persons among the antients, to eternal torments, notwithstanding their good works (which are gravely term'd splendid sins) because they did not believe what was never reveal'd nor propos'd to them, and therefore never requir'd nor made a part of their duty. If we do not agree with our Author that SOCRATES, and such others, were properly Christians, yet if we believe (as we cannot but do) that JESUS CHRIST taught a reasonable Doctrine, it seems to be safer for us to follow those latitudinarian notions of JUSTIN, than the more narrow, rigid, and damnable decrees of others ; since they are things, and not names, that determine worth, and that truth is the same, whether it be partly or wholly discover'd : besides that the obligations under the Gospel and the Law of Nature differing but as from less to more, there might in some sense, according to the measure of their knowledge, be found true Christians in the world, (and the holy Patriarchs we take to be such) before (6) *the fulness of grace and truth* was reveal'd by CHRIST, from whom all that now offer a reasonable worship, bear the denomination of Christians.

IX. *AFTER*

IX. *AFTER* SOCRATES (says (7) the same JUSTIN) *had diligently endeavour'd by sound Reason to make these things appear, and to draw men away from the Dæmons, or false Gods, those very Dæmons by the means of men delighting in wickedness (the Sophists concern'd for their glory, and the Priests for their offerings) so order'd matters, that he was put to death for an Atheist and irreligious person, giving out that he introduc'd new Deities. And they serve us after the same manner; for these things were not only confuted from Reason among the Greeks by SOCRATES, but also among the Barbarians by Reason it self transform'd or become a Man, and call'd JESUS CHRIST; by whom we being persuaded, maintain that the Dæmons who do these things, are not only not good, but also evil and impious; such whose best actions do not equal those of virtuous men: wherefore we likewise are nicknam'd Atheists. And we acknowledge, that in respect of those pretended Divinities we are Atheists, but not so of the most true God, the father of justice, and temperance, and all other virtues, without any mixture of evil. 'Tis observable here how strangely men are misrepresented to the world by a prevailing faction, and made to hold those very things which they labour'd to destroy. SOCRATES, who intended to subvert the Doctrine of Dæmons, must himself*

have

have a familiar Dæmon; and while he establish'd the *Dæmonium* or true God, 'tis presently converted into a Dæmon or false God. This was likewise in divers respects the very case of JESUS CHRIST, on whom those things have been spuriously charg'd, that he really design'd to overthrow. We may further perceive how liberally the epithet of Atheist has been thrown in all ages on men void of Superstition, by the Priests and by the rabble; tho' the Christians, who were so much and so unjustly charg'd with this crime at the beginning, ought even for that very reason to be more reserv'd in imputing it to others, were they not likewise further restrain'd by the charity they are enjoin'd, and by which they are ever to think the best of every thing. And indeed there appears to be as much cause in this age for some body to make an Apology for learned men from being Atheists, as NAUDÆUS did in the last age from being Magicians; for this was the blackning cry of that time.

X. JUSTIN in other places speaks to the same purpose; and CLEMENS of Alexandria comes not behind him, when he says, as from the mouth of the Apostle PETER, that (8) *God gave us a New Testament, or manner of worshipping him, those of the Jews and the Greeks being antiquated. But we that worship him of late, adds he, in a third way, are Christians: for PETER clearly shews,*
in

(8) *Stromat. lib. 6. Edit. Par. p. 636.*

in my opinion, that one and the same God was known by the Greeks after the manner of the Heathens, by the Jews in their own Jewish way, but of late by us in a spiritual manner. A little after he affirms, that what the Prophets were to the Jews, the same were the Philosophers to the Heathens ; *God raising up among the Greeks the most approv'd persons, and distinguishing them from the vulgar, according as they were capable to receive his favour, that they might serve for Prophets to their countrymen in their own language.* And lastly, he says, that *as the Preaching of the Gospel is now come in its due time ; so in their season were the Law and the Prophets given to the Jews, and Philosophy to the Greeks.*

XI. SOME other Fathers were of these comprehensive sentiments, among whom I do reckon LACTANTIUS. Tho' the best part of his *Divine Institutions* (for so he calls his Books) be childish declamation against the Philosophers, and pitiful plagiarism from CICERO ; yet one thing he has advanc'd (9) in the sixth Book, which creates me no small wonder, considering the temper of the man : for he asserts that tho' no particular person or party has taught the whole truth, yet that it is easy to shew that all the truth is divided among the several Sects of Philosophers. Now, adds he a little further, *if there were*
any

(9) *Edit. Oxon. p. 621, &c.*

any person that wou'd collect together and digest into one body the Truth which lies scatter'd among each of these, and diffus'd throughout their Sects, certainly this man wou'd not disagree with us. Then he says, that none can perform this without the aid of Revelation; but that *if any shou'd happen by chance to do it, he wou'd discover a most assur'd Philosophy: and that tho' he cou'd not defend these things by divine testimonies, yet that truth wou'd recommend it self by its proper lustre.* An admirable Apologist, shall I rather say a betrayer of Christianity? In the first place, by all Truth he must only mean all practical and moral virtues; since the Philosophers knew nothing of the revelations or miracles either of the Jews, or of the Christians. Secondly, I deny to LACTANTIUS, that, unless assisted by Revelation, none can collect all those truths which are scatter'd among the Philosophers. Is this a proper argument from a Father for the necessity of Revelation? Or has he not forgot and contradicted himself in other places? For there's no reason why the person who discover'd two truths, might not add a third to 'em, to that a fourth, to this a fifth, and so on. Now if any one of the Philosophers had written or invented ten or twenty of these truths (as several have done more) it is much easier for another to digest into one volume what they have all prepar'd to his hand, and left him only the labour of collecting: nor is this a

matter that seems to require any other help, besides books, judgment, application, and time. If it should be objected that it was never yet done, this is more than can be warrantably affirm'd, without knowing all that ever has been done: tho', were it so, it follows by no means from thence, that it shall never be perform'd, since every thing has its time of beginning; and it were extreme folly to argue that nothing shall be hereafter, which has no existence at present: which reasoning, had it been true yesterday, this Discourse had not been written to day.

XII. BUT leaving LACTANTIUS to the correction of those, who can be angry with the Fathers when they advance what does not relish their own palats; I shall conclude with the idea which MINUTIUS FELIX has given of Christianity, in his better Defence of it against the Heathen CÆCILIVS. *Do you think, says he, (10) that we conceal what we adore, because we have no Temples or Altars? For what image can I frame of God, when if you rightly consider, man himself is his image? What Temple shall I build for him, when the whole Universe, which he has made, is not able to contain him? And when I, that am but a man, can command a larger habitation, shall I confine the Power of the divine Majesty within one small Shrine? Should we not rather dedicate a Temple to him in our minds,*
and

(10) In Octavio. Edit. Lug. Bat. p. 313.

and consecrate an Altar for him in our hearts? Shall I offer those things in Victims and Sacrifices to the Lord, which he has created for my use, scornfully throwing back his gifts to himself again? This were Ingratitude, when the most pleasing Sacrifices to him are a good disposition, a pure mind, and a sincere conscience. Whoever therefore keeps himself innocent, he prays to the Lord; he that loves justice, does offer him Sacrifice: whoever abstains from fraud, procures the favour of God; and he that delivers any out of distress, makes him an agreeable offering. These are our Sacrifices, this is our divine Service: so that whoever is the honestest man among us, him we also count the most religious. According to this model, the Christian Worship does not consist (it seems) in stately Edifices, sumptuous Altars, numerous Attendants, gorgeous Habits, exquisite Musick, or a curiously contriv'd, expensive, and ceremonious service, supported by ample revenues and possessions. Were the Religion of MINUTIUS believ'd or observ'd, there had been no Disputes about these or the like temporal matters; no charge of impious sacrilege on the one hand, nor profane idolatry on the other; no reviling accusations of superstition or fanaticism, of pageantry or clownishness: neither wou'd any room be left for the boasted and affected mediums of order, decency, and reverence, between these two extremes. A man's behaviour, and not the cant of a party, not the particular garbs

or customs of any place, but the goodness and sincerity of his actions, wou'd be the real test of his Religion.

C H A P. III.

Of the Church, and the Distinctions thereof.

I. **B**UT the Christian Religion is not the point in question, 'tis the Christian Church. The Church, the true Church, the pure Church, the Orthodox, the Catholick Church, are in every body's mouth; and therefore one wou'd think they must needs very well understand what they mean by the Church: tho', in reality, they have no fix'd idea to this word, nor any signification in which they all agree; and that particular notion, to which they are most inclin'd, I mean of a form'd Society with proper rites, officers, laws, and government, does no where occur in the New Testament, and is both unreasonable and impossible in it self. The original word, which we translate Church, is *Ecclesia*, and denotes in the Greek laws and writers, any Assembly of men call'd together, as by a publick cryer, to hear an oration; answerable to the Latin word *Concio* for the same thing, from *concio*, to summon or bring together. And hence it came to signify numbers of men, that assemble of themselves at
known

known and stated times, such as the meetings of towns and corporations, as the *Ecclæ* of Athens, of Lacedemon, and other Republicks.

II. ECCLESIA therefore in it self is but any publick Assembly in general, whether about civil, or religious, or other affairs whatsoever; and whose rules are either none, or few, or many, or various, according to the nature of the things to be debated, or the different customs of several times and places. Thus it is generally us'd in the New Testament. But accuracy of Language not being the business of the penmen of that volume, *Ecclesia* does likewise occur there (11) for a tumultuous rabble got together by chance, without any warrant from authority, nor knowing why they came themselves. And in the same place, that is, in the nineteenth Chapter (12) of the Acts of the Apostles, a lawful Assembly, or *Ecclesia*, is oppos'd to it. The Christians therefore call'd their own Assemblies for worship or instruction by this name, not for any peculiar worth or energy, but because it was then the common word for Assemblies or Congregations. It really signifies the same thing with the Jewish Synagogue, which is a synonymous term: but the first Christians being reputed a Sect of

K 2

the

(11) *Act.* xix. 32.(12) *V.* 39.

the Jews, they rather chose to borrow the Language of the Heathens, lest they should be thought to symbolize with the former, or still to continue such. Thus Meetings are now oppos'd to Churches in England, which, after all, are but two words for the same thing; namely, a place of assembling on a religious account. Yet the first Christians were not so superstitiously nice in the distinction of words, as their modern followers: for the Apostle JAMES calls (13) the meeting of Christians a *Synagogue*, tho' the wary Translators have render'd it Assembly; and the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expresses (14) the assembling of Christians by the word *Synagogein*.

III. IN short, any Meeting or Society of Christians is promiscuously call'd *Ecclesia* in the New Testament, let them come together about any business whatsoever. Thus it is put for those in the same family, as the Church (15) in the house of PRISCILLA and AQUILA, that (16) in the house of NYMPHAS, and that (17) in the house of PHILEMON. So it occurs for the Christian Meetings of particular cities, and for the Christians of whole nations and provinces; as *the Churches*, that is,

(13) *Ch. ii. 2.*

(14) *Ch. x. 25.*

(15) *Rom. xvi. 3, 5.*

(16) *Col. iv. 15.*

(17) *Philem. 2.*

is, the Christians of Rome, Corinth, Laodicea, *the Churches* (18) of Asia, the *Churches* of the Gentiles, and the like, which are expressions frequently us'd in PAUL's Epistles. From the proper signification of a Meeting at a certain time and place, the first Christians made *Ecclesia* likewise to signify all those of their persuasion, wherever dispers'd in the world, as being united in their minds or Religion; but without any respect to the gathering together of their bodies into any definite place, or under any certain rules and oeconomy: as PAUL exhorts the Ephesian Husbands (19) to love their Wives, *as CHRIST loves his Church*; and in such other general passages where it signifies all Christians, both they who teach, and they who are taught. In other passages it signifies the People as distinct from their instructors: so PAUL in the Acts of the Apostles exhorts (20) the Elders of Ephesus *to feed the Church*; and in his first Epistle to TIMOTHY, speaking of the qualifications of an Elder, he says, (21) *that if he knows not how to rule his own House, he cannot take care of the Church of God.*

IV. BUT for the Pastors to signify the Church as distinct from the People, there's no shadow for such a meaning of the word in the whole New Testament. The only place al-

K 3

ledg'd

(18) 1 Cor. xvi. 4. Rom. xvi. 19.

(19) Eph. v. 25.

(20) Chap. xx. 28.

(21) Ch. iii. 5.

ledg'd to this purpose, is the celebrated *Dic Ecclesiæ* in MATTHEW's Gospel, (22) where CHRIST directs, that if any man has a controversy with his brother, and that the other will neither make it up by an amicable composition, nor yet by the conviction of witnesses, then he's to tell the matter to the Church; *but if he neglects to hear the Church*, says CHRIST, *let him be to thee as a Heathen and a Publican*. Here it is most obvious to all disinterested lovers of truth, that this passage concerns a civil injury, where, the offending brother refusing to give private satisfaction, the difference was to be compounded by the Congregation, to whom the offended brother was to refer it; which CHRIST most wisely order'd 'em to do, to save both the expences and further enmity of a law-suit. And truly if the Clergy wou'd claim any thing from hence, it must be the utter discharging of other Judges, and the bringing of all civil causes under their own cognizance and jurisdiction. Now that I have given the true signification of this passage, I desire these three Questions to be consider'd: Why the Clergy shou'd be meant here, when no other text does favour such an interpretation, and that *Ecclesia* is so often put for the Laity, as Christians are corruptly distinguish'd? Whether any ordinary and external Tribunal of Christian Bishops, or other Churchmen, can be prov'd

prov'd to have existed then in the world? And why *tell it to the Church* shou'd not be here understood of the whole Congregation, as well as PAUL means the whole Congregation, when, in the first Epistle to TIMOTHY, (23) he says, *Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses: them that sin rebuke before all, that others may also fear?* The places are exactly parallel, and need no further explication.

V. FROM all this it clearly follows, that those who receive the Doctrine of CHRIST are Christians, that their assemblies are Churches; and if they will call their persuasion or fellow-believers the Church, or by a common figure give that name to the House or Place of their meeting (as we say the Chancery, the Court, the Exchange) there is no harm in all this, provided that in their speech and writing they carefully distinguish those significations; and that they let us always know which of them they mean, that there may be no equivocation or confusion. But the abuse of this word has occasion'd a world of extravagant notions and distinctions, neither warranted by Scripture nor Reason. The Clergy call themselves the Church, by which they mean a certain body, polity, or government; and tho' you shou'd never so strictly conform your self to the Doctrine of CHRIST,

K 4

yet

yet if you oppose the Clergy, you are said to oppose the Church, which makes their blind admirers imagine that you oppose Christianity. The Discipline and Ceremonies of a particular Sect are often call'd the Church; and if you neglect or dislike these, you are strait made an enemy to Religion; for which you may be sure to suffer in your person or reputation, and generally in both. Sometimes a favourite - doctrine, as Passive Obedience to the arbitrary will of Princes, the Divine Right of Episcopacy or Presbytery, the Immersion of adult persons in Baptism, or some other particular opinion, is made the principal Distinction of a Church. Then a Doubt is propos'd, Whether by the Church be meant an assembly of Men and Angels? Whether the Patriarchs and holy men of the Old Testament, were not a part of CHRIST'S Church? Whether Children be real members of the Church, and how? Whether the whole Church can ever err, or totally perish? And whether the Pastors and the Sheep be not in a certain sense two Churches, whereof the first is the representative of the last? But I have already remov'd the imaginary foundation of this representative Church of the Clergy, and under the next head of *Synods and Councils*, I shall demonstrate that there can be no such Representation; where I shall likewise examine the distinction of particular Churches and the universal.

VI. NEXT the Church is divided into visible and invisible, which, if it be meant of a real and seeming persuasion, quadrates as well to all other Opinions or Societies, where the external profession is more diffusive than the internal sincerity : and if it be meant of the publick exercise of Religion, in opposition to a time when none in the world does or dares openly acknowledge it, then it's possible that at such a time there may be no person of that Religion ; or there's a plain demonstration, that this Religion is not a Society consisting of members under such a Government as they commonly call the Church. Another distinction of the Church is into militant on earth, and triumphant in heaven, to which the Romanists add the laborant in purgatory. And truly this last may be found as soon in the New Testament, as the representative Church of the Clergy, which may very properly be call'd militant, considering the fines, imprisonments, banishments, executions, ravages, devastations, wars and massacres it has so frequently occasion'd ; and still continues to practise wherever it has the power, for it seldom wants the will. But 'tis by a wonderful figure of speech that the Martyrs are stil'd the triumphant Church, for being worsted by their enemies ; and 'tis by a modesty no less singular, that others decline those triumphs till they cannot help it.

VII. THE Catholick Church is an unscriptural expression, and signifies all Christians, or nothing. It cannot mean any particular set of Opinions, for there is none wherein all Christians are agreed; much less do they all submit to any one kind of Government, tho' the Pope has fairly aim'd at a universal Monarchy under this Catholick pretence. And to say, that it denotes the Orthodox believers, is neither grammar nor sense: for, in the first place, there may be errors spread over all Christian Societies; and then among that great variety of Churches, which manifestly differ in discipline, rites, and doctrine, every one of them is Orthodox to it self. So that if Catholick signifies Orthodox, God knows how many Catholick Churches we shall have. At least, if there be but one, it will be the true labour in vain to find it among so many pretenders, if you take their own words for it; and let them e'en decide it as they please, for names and titles are but empty things in comparison of truth. Tho' the real notion of the Church be thus loose and unfix'd among the admirers of it, as you'll better perceive in the following Chapter: yet they talk of nothing more commonly or positively than the extraordinary Prerogatives of the Catholick Church; by which they do not mean (or in the plainest case they speak very mysteriously) the Privileges of individual Christians, but the fancy'd excellencies

lencies of an abstracted, and therefore an imaginary idea made up of no particular ideas; like all those charms, graces, and beauties, which the valiant DON QUIXOT ador'd in his belov'd DULCINEA, tho' he never set eyes upon her; and that indeed there was no such creature in being out of his own giddy brain.

C H A P. IV.

Of Synods and Councils.

I. **T**H O' the vulgar notion of a Church does no where appear in the New Testament, yet so early are people accusom'd to fix that idea to the word, that, whenever they read there of particular Churches (as when PAUL, in (24) the first Epistle to the Corinthians, mentions *the Churches of God*, the divisions (25) in the Church of Corinth, and says, in (26) another place, that *the care of all the Churches* lies on his shoulders) they do not simply conceive the Societies of Christians in those places united in the same persuasion, but likewise as under a particular form and discipline of divine and unalterable Institution; as now the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, or the Lutheran Churches, are consider'd by their several professors. On the

(24) *Ch. xi. 16.*(25) *1 Cor. xi. 18.*(26) *2 Cor. xi. 28.*

the other hand, when they meet with the word Church intended in a general sense of all Christians, because they agree in the same Faith, as, in his first Epistle to TIMOTHY, PAUL says, That (27) *the Church of the living God is the pillar and ground of the truth*; then they imagine I know not, and indeed they know not, what universal Church, to whose Decisions all the particular Churches are to stand, by the power whereof they are to be govern'd, and in which they are all united, and made members of the same Society.

II. BUT I have already shewn that the word *Ecclesia* signifies no representative Church of the Clergy. I deny not but that in certain districts, as parishes, towns, provinces, and a whole nation, a select number of persons may meet by authority in a Christian Government; or by voluntary confederation in other countries, to agree upon the circumstances of time and place in their worship, or any other thing relating to their well-being and convenience. On such an occasion, when a numerous Society cannot without confusion meet together in one place, the light of nature has taught 'em to devolve the care of their transactions on a sufficient number, to whom they commit a fiduciary power, and of which their Pastors may or may not be, so as *all things be perform'd decently and*

and in good Order, as PAUL directs in the first Epistle (28) to the Corinthians. Matters of this nature (as what habits of distinction any shall wear among 'em, what fasts they shall appoint, what festivals they shall observe, or what other regulations they shall think necessary) may be alter'd or abolish'd as urgent causes shall appear; and they can oblige no other persons or assemblies in the world, further than as the wisdom of the thing may induce 'em to follow a good example.

III. BUT as to points of Doctrine and persuasion, decreeing Articles of Faith, or determining Controversies about such (which is the proper business of the Churches in question) no body can be another's representative or believe for him, no more than be sav'd or damn'd for him; every person being to stand or fall by his own conviction, having his proper judgment of discretion to determine for himself according to the light of his conscience. This is the voice of CHRIST; this is what we are frequently told in the New Testament. There we are often commanded to examine the Scriptures, not by delegates, but with our own eyes. And PAUL, in his second Epistle to TIMOTHY, assures us that (29) *the Scriptures are able to make*

115

(28) *Ch. xiv. 40.*

(29) *Ch. iii. 15.*

us wise unto salvation, through the faith that is in CHRIST JESUS ; which is to say, that in the Scriptures we may learn the Faith of CHRIST, by which salvation is to be had.

IV. AS for them who sit in those Synods or representative Churches, they must be sent by the Clergy, or by the Laity, or by both. If by the Clergy, they represent only them; and if by the Laity only, so likewise of them. But if they be sent by, or in the name of both, surely he that sends may sit there as well as he that is sent: or if none are qualify'd to sit but such as are elected, they cannot determine but what their Principals approve. It wou'd be very hard and absurd, if the sent might exclude the senders. In the Assembly of the Christians at Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts (30) of the Apostles, to enquire whether their brethren of the Gentiles were oblig'd to the Observation of the Jewish Circumcision and Ceremonies (because Christianity was an improvement on the Law of MOSES) and where it was determin'd to leave the Gentiles to their former liberty, yet without expressly exempting the Jews; nay and PAUL did some time after (31) circumcise TIMOTHY, tho' his father was a Gentile, to please the Jews, because his mother was of their nation: I say, in this Assembly all sorts
of

(30) *Ch.* xv. 15 — 29.

(31) *Act.* xvi. 3.

of persons equally debated and concluded, not only (32) *the Apostles and Elders*, but likewise *the whole Church* or Congregation; and indeed it was but delivering their opinion, to which they did not say that others were bound, but only wou'd do well (33) to conform.

V. MORE OVER, if these Synods be to decide the Controversies that may arise among Christians, and that they sincerely design to search for the truth without prejudice, and to act according to impartial justice; then those of all sides ought to sit there with equal freedom and power, Greeks, Armenians, Protestants, Papists, Socinians, Arians, Quakers, and all other Sects, since none may decide for others; and that for one Party to determine in their own favour, is to be Judges in their own case. But custom against equity makes void the law. However, supposing that all Sects and persons were freely admitted to session and suffrage; yet it follows not that their final Judgment must be necessarily the truth, unless it be prov'd that truth must be necessarily of the stronger side; whereas it has not been less frequently, and (perhaps as matters go in the world) it is most commonly found on the weaker side.

VI. 'TIS but too manifest that most of the antient Synods did not weigh reasons, but

(32) *Act. xv. 22.*

(33) *Ibid. v. 29.*

number voices. And to say that we ought to presume they always acted honestly, is to say nothing; unless it cou'd be prov'd that every body will always do his duty, that men will constantly perform what they profess, and execute the trust repos'd in them without being misled by ignorance, passion, interest, favor, or fear. Now just the contrary of all this appears in the antient Synods, as with very little labor may be prov'd from Ecclesiastical History. They generally came together to try their strength, and the smaller number seldom or never acquiesc'd in the Decisions of the greater; which made the breach wider than before, exasperated the parties, and, instead of healing Controversies, they occasion'd new heresies, schisms, libels, recriminations, tumults, and bloody murders. To gain their purposes of mastery or revenge, they have servilely flatter'd the higher powers, who had the means not only of corrupting them by gratifying their vanity and ambition; but also of getting always a majority of their own creatures sent there, and to condemn or approve what they pleas'd. Thus was the Council of Nice against ARIUS, and that of Ariminum for him; with a world of other examples. And really it is almost an argument against the reasonableness or integrity of human nature, to observe the perpetual jangling, clashing, and opposition of those Councils, one rejecting what the other establish'd, and others sub-

scribing

scribing to neither; whence they proceeded to anathematize and damn one another without mercy, not seldom for mere trifles: and according as they were favour'd at Court, putting the Emperors and other Princes on persecutions, banishments, confiscations, and proscriptions; which inevitably produc'd a retaliation from those of the other side, whenever they got an opportunity. Hence new Edicts, new Decrees, new Canons, new Articles of Faith; and all their resolutions as positively and peremptorily ratify'd as if God himself had directed their proceedings, which they most blasphemously asserted, considering their passions, partiality, and infinite contradictions. Their elections were unfair and mostly seditious, their debates were manag'd without temper, their conclusions were form'd without reasons; and they never answer'd their end, nor ever procur'd any union but by force and severity. In so much that the History of ancient Synods is a lively representation of the ignorance, pride, and corruption of the Clergy of those times, from which vices the Laity were not free, and their failings were augmented by the contagious example of their guides and governors.

VII. BUT as men are always the same unless amended by free Laws and a generous Education, and that from the like causes the like effects will certainly follow; so if we consider the canvaſt elections, fierce debates,

unseemly noise and rude behaviour, contradictory protestations, hasty and undigested Canons of some of our own Convocations, with the other Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Europe, we may perceive what virulence and factions reign in them, what tools they are made of by Princes and parties for and against one another; and how much more they seem concern'd for temporal Power and Dominion, for indifferent Rites and Ceremonies, or for avenging private piques, and indulging personal resentments, than for the true Faith, Reformation of Manners, or universal Peace, Toleration, and Charity. Tho' their practice is a proof that the Holy Ghost does not always preside in their meetings, yet I grant that they decree *what seems good to themselves*; wherefore if I look on what they determine as their own belief, 'tis more perhaps than I am strictly bound, but I shall never own it as the rule of my Faith. Happy, thrice happy had it been for Christianity, if there never had been any Synods or Councils to impose their arbitrary Dictates for Articles of Religion! This made GREGORY NAZIANZEN, and our late Archbishop TILLOTSON, with other excellent persons living and dead, mortally to hate such Assemblies, and to own that no good ever came of them. A bold and ungrateful, yet a noble truth! But to conclude my deduction that Synods are not the Church, I challenge that one Synod to be instanc'd, whether diocesan, provincial,

vincial, national, or œcumenical, to which all Christians submit, or which is in all things acknowledg'd by all parties, and which has not decreed many things held by the greatest number of Christians to be false and erroneous.

VIII. TAKING the Church therefore in what sense you please, either for any promiscuous Assembly of Christians united for religious worship and instruction, or for a separate body of the Clergy for teaching and governing; yet the Church is as much as ever to seek under the notion of a form'd Society, which is to serve for a standing and universal rule. The Members, in the first place, of all Churches are individual persons subject to prejudice, weakness, and error. Secondly, no particular Church has any promise or privilege that it shall not err for the future, no more than such as have done so before. And, Thirdly, if all particular Churches may err, so may likewise the universal and œcumenical Councils, since they consist only of the Delegates sent from these, and differ but in number; nor does their coming together in general take away what they were in particular, but rather makes their error the greater. The variety of their own Creeds is a sufficient Argument against them. Experience shews that they are not less obnoxious to corruptions of persuasion and practice than other assemblies. And they are the principal pa-

rents of all the errors in Religion, which the people without them, or without some of the particular Clergymen whereof they were compos'd, wou'd never have thought of or imagin'd; besides that no general Council properly so call'd has ever existed. It is a mere chimera; not only because Deputies never did nor cou'd come to represent all concern'd, but likewise because all parties were never admitted.

IX. A Universal Church or Society, cemented by Letters of Communion, is as fantastical; since the particular Churches, whereof the Universal must consist, disagree in the most essential Articles of Faith, of Discipline, and Worship. The interests of civil Governments are so various, and places (where there may be good Christians) are sometimes so situated, as to make such a correspondence impracticable: and thousands of private Christians every where submit to the authority of no particular Churches. When those Letters were most in fashion, there was as little union, and as great impositions as ever: so that if the Bishops of Italy differ'd from those of Africa, and both from those of Asia, and Greece; or part of the Bishops of Italy oppos'd the Bishop of Rome, and the Bishop of Carthage accus'd the Bishop of Egypt (for the like cases not seldom happen'd) how cou'd any man discern from the Episcopal Character or Authority which of these were the true Church?

Church? or if he was to examine the Controversy not by dignities, places, or numbers, but by the touchstone of Reason and the Bible, this is making every person his own judge, and granting all we desire. Or if none of these expressions be forcible enough, I desire to know what are the Terms of Communion on which a man is to be receiv'd in all particular Churches, as a member of the Catholick Church? Is it not undeniable in fact, that there are no fix'd terms, in agreeing to which you'll be admitted to Communion in all Christian Churches? And as universals are made up of particulars, I wou'd likewise be inform'd where those particular Churches are, or that one single Church, with which the others are to conform as their exemplar? And if that Church can use any arguments to convince the rest that it self is the true Church of CHRIST, different from such arguments as any private man can shew that he is a true Christian (whether he lives in a Christian Society, or with his Bible in a wilderness) I wou'd be glad to find 'em specify'd? Thus the dispute wou'd soon be ended. But if this cannot be done, I see not the use or necessity of such a Church.

X. AS for one man to be the infallible judge of Controversies, it is not only experimentally repugnant to human nature, and plainly unwarranted from Scripture; but that very Church which maintains this strange

paradox has not determin'd whether the Pope be above a General Council or subject to it, that is, which of them is the Church ; whether they are both together the supreme Authority, or whether he can only utter oracles when he sits on his tripod ; and this same chair, no less wonderful than the cap of *FORTUNATUS*, is to this day a Controversy undecided, what it is, or where. Nor is it conceivable to any that considers his own words, how a man that can err by himself, and a Council that can err by it self, shou'd both in conjunction become infallible. Or if reason were not to judge in the case, yet the numberless oppositions of Councils in the most fundamental points of Christianity, and the no fewer reversions of Papal Decrees by their successors, not to insist on the dubious titles and mutual excommunications of the Antipopes which divided Christendom, is an unanswerable demonstration against their pretences.

XI. *LASTLY*, be the Church which of all these you will, it cannot possibly be a standing Rule, since none of them is in constant being, and some of'em wanting to the world for many score years : so that no controversy can be decided in the interval of the deaths of Popes, or the sittings of Councils, or during the intermitted correspondence of Bishops ; there's no recourse to be had for resolutions of doubts to any tribunal of uni-
2
versal

verfal Authority. Thouſands therefore of private Chriſtians may die in their ſcruples or in their errors ; nay whole ſocieties may be deſtroy'd before they can have the means of deciſion. Nor has any perſon a right all that while to pronounce another to be a Heretick, Schiſmatick, or Apoſtate, if he's to depend on ſuch an external authority, and not on the ſacred Scriptures alone, interpreted by his own Reason and Judgment. I conclude then, that people ſpeak very uncorrectly, or rather know not their own meaning, but precipitantly follow an habitual form of ſpeech, when they ſay that ſuch or ſuch a thing is the determination of the Church, and that they ſubmit to the Authority of the Church in all ages : phraſes I have ſometimes heard in the mouths of the Engliſh Diſſenters, generally from thoſe of the eſtabliſh'd Church, and always from Papiſts.

C H A P V.

Of the Marks of the True Church.

I. **T**HE Chriſtian Religion, and figuratively the ſincere Profeſſors of it wherever diſperſt, but no form'd Society aſſuming to it ſelf the name of the Church, I grant to be (34) *the pillar and ſupport of the*
L 4
Truth;

(34) 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Truth; and I think I have also briefly made out, that there is no such Church or society in the world, to be deduc'd from the word *Ecclesia*, nor from Synods, Councils, Popes, or Episcopal Letters of Communion. Or if such a Church or society there were, I presume that none will be so unreasonable as to deny that it has certain Marks, whereby it may be known and distinguish'd from false or corrupt Churches, and from those that are Heretical or Schismatical, to speak in their own consecrated language. Without these it wou'd be perfectly the same thing, whether there was any such Church or not; and of this the sticklers for a political associated Church are so sensible, that Marks of one kind or another they have all assign'd. I shall examine them in order, omitting none that ever came to my knowledge: for if I miss the right Church, it is not for want of learning her peculiar properties, which so many pretend to teach. But in general this must be agreed, that the Marks ought to be better and easier known than the object they distinguish, and likewise be different from it in the whole or in part; else they can be no right tokens, nor possibly serve to shew the difference of one thing from another.

II. NOW the signs which the bulk of Protestants ascribe to the true Church, are the preaching of pure Doctrine, the due administration of the Sacraments, and exact Discipline.

Discipline. I hope this is only a dispute of words, proceeding from want of accuracy in some of the first Reformers, who being in their old Systems accusom'd to treat apart of the Marks of the Church, wou'd needs make a distinct head of it in their new Theology : for their Marks are so far from being such, that they are the very things to be known, the essential points in debate ; since the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of all parties are to themselves the best ; and the Question is, by what sure Marks we shall know which are so in reality, and not merely in opinion. Besides, that there may be a true Church, that is a number of good Christians, where there is no preaching, nor any Ecclesiastical Discipline. PAUL affirms, that(35) *the Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation, thro' the faith that is in JESUS CHRIST* ; not to speak of the first Protestants, nor of the primitive Christians under persecution, who had none other in the world with whom they wou'd communicate ; or, if there were, and it be said that they communicated with them *in voto* (as the phrase is) it signifies no more than that they wish'd to be in good company, and free from their present dangers or troubles.

III. FOR what is it, pray, to us here in England, who they be that are of the true Church in other parts of the world ? I do not mean

mean in a political sense, as nations may be to one another mutual supports of liberty against tyranny and superstition; nor as we ought to tender the good and welfare of all mankind, as our brethren and the fellow citizens of this terraqueous globe; but I speak to the merits of the cause: for we are never the worse Christians if they shou'd not be good, and if they be, we are not for that ever the better. 'Tis not the testimony, correspondence, equality, or superiority of others that can make us more to be Christians, than to be innocent or virtuous men, which we may actually be, and perfectly know it our selves, nay and are indispensably oblig'd to continue such, tho' all the world shou'd conspire together to maintain the contrary. After the same manner, if we are persuaded of the Doctrines of CHRIST, and are conscious to our selves, that we submit to his laws, fulfilling his will, and taking his Gospel for our Rule, we may be fully assur'd that we are good Christians; and therefore Members of the Church of God, whose true Union consists in these things, and in having CHRIST for its head and author: but not in any form of external polity, which may be justly alter'd according to the exigency of time and circumstances; nor in the succession of persons, rites or offices, these being things with which the maintenance of truth has no relation or necessary connection, and which (according to the ceaseless vicissitudes
of

of human affairs) are impossible to be always preserv'd the same.

IV. THE Romanists give us more Marks, but not more certainty. However I shall discuss 'em all, because as I write in favour of no particular Party, no more do I oppose any one as such. In the first place, Catholicity is no mark, since I have prov'd already that there is no such Catholick Church in their sense, and that it is evidently begging the question to make it a mark, if there were. A Catholick Society is nonsense, and Roman Catholick a contradiction. Secondly, Antiquity is no mark, since the Church must have been without it at the beginning; nor does it follow that the Doctrines never vary, tho' most of the names shou'd continue still the same. Yet this is the stale and common cant of all Sects, as if Religion, like wood or wine, was ever the better for being old. The Papists do not only make this objection to the Protestants, but some of the latter are as apt as any to declaim most tragically against all changes or innovations; and the Heathens often alledg'd the venerable wrinkles of their Religion, how many nations, cities, and most flourishing empires, had for a long series of time profess'd it with great success, prosperity, and happiness: *If Antiquity*, says SYMMACHUS to a Christian (36) Emperor, *can add any Authority to Religions, we must adhere*

here to the faith of so many ages, and herein imitate our fathers, who happily follow'd theirs. Thirdly, for the like reasons, Duration is no mark; besides, that the names and doctrines may not only frequently change (as they have done in effect, or there had been no disputes about them) but that several of 'em may quite decay and perish, as other institutions have done in course of time, which had persisted longer in the world than the Roman or any other Christian Church. Fourthly, a Promise of never failing is no mark; since it's in dispute to what Church that Promise was made, if ever it was to any, unless the word Church be rightly transfer'd from a Sacerdotal Society to the true Religion of CHRIST. Fifthly, The Multitude of Professors is no mark, because the Church wanted it at the beginning; and that the professors of other Religions may be, and often are, much more numerous: but tho' the purity of Religion depends not upon it, yet the authority and profit of the Church, I mean of the Clergy, is greatly concern'd in the multitudes that own them as their guides.

V. SIXTHLY, A Succession of Bishops is no mark, for it is not the Succession of persons, but the truth of the Doctrine that is to be known; besides that the Greek and Armenian Prelates pretend to retain their succession, no less than the Jews. Yet supposing it signify'd any thing, there's no controverted

troverted Succession in the world, the beginnings being manifestly fabulous, diverse and long interruptions happening afterwards, dubious and undecided titles not seldom advanced, nor the persons agreeing either in Doctrine or Discipline with those that went before them. Nevertheless some who pretend to be Protestants, are so fond of this Succession, that they seem to make it the sole mark of their Christianity ; for they allow no Christianity that's good or sound to such as are without it : and what's yet more absurd, they object as great Corruptions to those of whom they had it ; thus making Episcopacy a real Charm, the very enchanted Castle that preserves the Lady Religion safe, when violated, lost, or persecuted every where besides. But more of this in other places of the sequel. Seventhly, Agreement with the primitive Church is no mark ; for if this be meant of the Apostles and their time, 'tis still the thing in question : and if it be meant of the following times, the primitive Christians differ'd among themselves as much or more than we do ; nor among the numberless Churches, Altars, Sects, and Heresies, which they oppos'd to each other, is there one with which the Roman or any other present Church agrees. Eighthly, Union among themselves is no more a mark of truth than of error, and their adversaries are united as much as they ; that is, all of them are split into infinite parties and subdivisions, each pretending to be
more

more perfect than the rest : no institution that ever was, being rent into more Sects than Christianity, nor any of those Sects having a greater variety of opinions and practices, of corrections and additions, than the Romanists ; notwithstanding the exquisite policy of their Hierarchy, which was likewise several ages, by various degrees and alterations, arriving to that perfection. Ninthly, Sanctity of Doctrine is begging the question, and the thing that requires to be known. So is, Tenthly, the Efficacy of the Doctrine, which wants a mark instead of being one.

VI. ELEVENTHLY, the Lives of the Authors ; Twelfthly, Miracles ; Thirteenthly, Martyrs ; and Fourteenthly, Prophecies are no marks : because these things are harder to be known themselves from counterfeits, than what they are said to mark ; and that all Religions and parties glory in a large Catalogue of Saints, Miracles, Martyrs, and Prophets, each maintaining theirs to be the only true ones, and all others to be false or fabulous, magical or delusory. Fifteenthly, the Confession of Adversaries is no mark, since they are not adversaries but a party if they come over to the Church ; and if they continue adversaries still, their confession ought to go for nothing, who are so insincere as to act against their own conviction and salvation. But in good earnest, what signifies the denial or confession of any one
to

to truth ? At this rate the truth of Christianity it self must yield to the obstinacy of its adversaries. Nor is, Sixteenthly, the ill Fortune of Adversaries a better mark ; since this may be retorted on all Churches, nay on the primitive Martyrs, which affects the very Christian Religion : and the success of adversaries is often greater than their misfortunes, witness against the Romanists, LUTHER, CALVIN, the Governments of Japan, Sweden, and other places where none is permitted to profess the Roman Church ; on the other side, the Duke of Alva, the Inquisition, with so many Popes, Kings, Princes, and other persons and places which thrive very well, tho' they persecute Protestants with exile, fines, and prisons, with halters, fire, and sword. And indeed the suffering of another may well serve for a witness of his own persuasion, but is no argument of conviction or rejection to me, since it makes equally for and against every thing. Seventeenthly, and lastly, the Felicity of Professors is farthest of any from being a mark ; for it excludes CHRIST from being the Head of his Church, it positively unchurches the poor Fishermen, the primitive Martyrs, and all Christians almost for two or three hundred years ; not to mention the persecuted, calamitous, and afflicted ever since, who yet are supported under their miseries by finding themselves stil'd *bles'd* when they suffer, and having a promise annex'd, that *of such*
is

is the Kingdom of Heaven. But this, I grant, is the principal mark at which the Church aims; for the sake of this the external Policy was made to signify the Church; thus the Church came by her riches and power; for these her sons will brawl, clamor, and persecute, burn, and damn without mercy: these they wou'd monopolize to themselves, and exclude as many from being sharers as they can; tho' it must be own'd that no other Church has so many means and methods, so many dignities and preferments to make its professors happy as the Roman.

VII. HAVING thus gone carefully over all the Marks both of the Protestants and the Papists, we are so far from finding out the true Church, that we have yet seen no reasons to believe there's any such thing, meaning it always of an associated Body Politick in the sense of the Clergy: for if the word had been every where, as it is sometimes, translated Meeting, Assembly, Congregation, or the like, it had not become such a riddle, nor been the subject of so many and so intricate Disputes. But the plainest things in the world will be quickly perplex'd, by such as are like to get any power, or honor, or profit for so doing; and the only reason why the Axioms of Geometers are not contested, is, because on these subjects it is neither dangerous nor unreputable to hold the truth, nor gainful or honourable to maintain
the

the contrary. Where it is otherwise, things as plain as any in the Mathematicks are deny'd, even the testimony of our very senses; as that what has the colour, and tast, and smell of bread, and is no bigger than a shilling, is perfect flesh and blood, nay an entire man, with the monstrous consequences of that Doctrine.

C H A P. VI.

Of Ordination, and the various Orders of Priests.

I. **I**N the Argument of this Writing (37) I deny'd that there was instituted in the Church a peculiar Order of Priests (tho' Christian Priests I do allow) no Priests, I say, whose office it is to instruct the people alone, and successively to appoint those of their own function, whether by the hand of one presiding Bishop, or of several equal Presbyters. I proceed now to the proof of this Assertion. But here I expect to be told by some people, that I may reason as long and as plausibly as I please, without ever gaining their assent, tho' they should not be able to answer me in form; because that for the successive Ordination of Priests, which constitute the Church Representative they find

VOL. II. M express

express passages in the New Testament. If it proves to be really as they pretend, I cannot blame them, and I wou'd do as much myself; tho', by the way, this method of arguing from bare sounds and separate texts, is extremely fallacious, and may serve as well to prove the contrary as the contents of any writing. Attention must therefore be given to the scope of the Author and the thread of his discourse, which must always be reasonably interpreted according to this view, together with a diligent consideration of his particular expressions, which must not be understood as they stand by themselves, but as they agree with the whole. How cou'd we prefer the New Testament to the Alcoran, or believe that the one is true and the other false, if we did not after the strictest examination perceive the contents of the first to be highly reasonable, useful, consistent, and agreeable to the natural notions of God; whereas the latter is full of absurdities, contradictions, ambiguities, and impostures, which may well become a designing and wicked man (as many such Institutions have by the like means long and often obtain'd in the world) but cou'd never have an honest or a good Author, and least of all a divine original? But certain things cannot possibly be defended, if the discussion of Reason be admitted. Wherefore such as have an interest to maintain them, will be sure to exclude Reason from being a judge, and betake themselves

selves for refuge to Authority, which is indeed to make use of force, and to reduce all at last to implicit obedience. If the holy Scripture be the Authority they chuse, and that their Adversaries accept of the conditions, as being persuaded that the Writings of the Apostles are the most reasonable Books in the world; then they artfully cull out certain words and phrases, which taken alone wou'd seem to countenance their opinions, when most commonly the context is against them : yet they have such passages always in their mouths, and so they easily impose on such as may truly reverence the Scriptures, but who will not be at the pains to search, to try, and examine them, as those divine oracles themselves direct.

II. THUS they were hard put to it, who first alledg'd in defence of Clerical Ordination these words of CHRIST in the Gospel (38) of JOHN : *He that enters not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbs up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.* Most Sects and parties agree in their explanation of this place, as if it related to the due manner of admitting or authorizing Christian Priests, Ministers, or Pastors ; for I shall not dispute about the propriety of the words, when their meaning is fix'd. But there's odd charging, and mutual imputations, each mak-

M 2
ing

ing thieves of most of the rest: and for any justification to be expected from this text, they may be all alike guilty; for it properly relates to the Person of CHRIST as the true MESSIAS, in opposition to all those who pretended to be such before him, if his own explication of this Parable may be prefer'd to that of the Clergy. And as he tells us that he himself (39) *is the Door* to the Sheepfold, so he has said nothing of opening it to Priests of any sort in particular; but *by me*, says he, (40) *if any man enter he shall be sav'd, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.* By the Fold he signify'd the Jews; but lower (41) he says, *Other sheep I have which are not of this Fold,* (meaning the Gentiles) *them also I must bring; and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.* The Clergy being ordinarily call'd the Pastors, and the People their Flocks, it was an easy thing for them to gloze this Parable to their own purpose, and to make simple persons believe that they had the Door of the Church, and consequently the Keys of Heaven in their keeping; so that none cou'd enter either place, but by their means, without being guilty of burglary, nor purchase a little Christianity from the Bible without being introduc'd by a
master

(39) V. 7.

(40) V. 9.

(41) V. 16.

master of the ceremonies, and obtaining a licence from this spiritual corporation.

III. THO' the place therefore regards the Evangelical Dispensation, yet as the metaphors of Sheep and Shepherds are natural enough, and justify'd in Scripture of the People and their Teachers, let us by way of accommodation (which yet is granting too much) understand this Parable of the Clergy; and even then it can only relate to the dispositions that move a teacher to take that function upon him, but by no means to the way whereby he's call'd or admitted into his office. CHRIST himself being here call'd the Door, he says, (42) that *whoever enters by him*, that is, according to his design, *will* (as he did) *go in and out before the sheep*, provide them shelter and pasture, and if it be necessary, (43) *will give his life for them*. But he that breaks in any other way, that is, for other ends, as enriching or dignifying himself, does (44) *steal, kill and destroy: he that is a hireling flies, when he perceives the wolf a coming, because he is a hireling, and cares not for the sheep*; for they are not the sheep, but his wages that he loves, as the false deliverers, the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, and the superstitious domineering Priests did before our Saviour. And he that is not a

M 3

Hireling

(42) V. 9.

(43) V. 11.

(44) V. 10, 13.

Hireling indeed, or, as bad, his slave, will grant that the Ordination in question can derive no Authority from this place. They are more concern'd to understand it, who purchase such offices by means no less indirect, than their purposes are criminal; and who, uncall'd or unqualify'd, thrust themselves into a business of so great importance, both in the design and execution of it; who (as in most other preferments are wont to be done) make their court to great men, appear at their levees, flatter such as can befriend them, enter into private obligations with the patrons, and gain some others by presents, which is to corrupt them with bribes. Let them apply this place to themselves, who to render the egregious effects of their Ministry more diffusive, procure as many and as large Flocks as they can, or to be translated from such as are thin, and lean, and naked (and therefore want most care) to the numerous, fat, and fleecy, which least need their help; nay who, rather than be no sacred Shepherds, will dispense with the inspection of any flock, or living among their sheep, leaving them always the pastoral name and crook (whereof they seem mighty fond) and duly paying the salary, which, tho' deserving nothing for their pains, they gladly receive, as a reward (I suppose) of their good intentions, for we seldom see any worthy fruits of their leisure. Let such, if they please, found their practices on that text; unless they think it more

convenient to quit their right to the Ordainers, on condition that they admit none into the Sheepfold but men of their stamp and complexion ; and then they are sure not to be told of their faults, which is a tender point, and what they cannot bear.

IV. ANOTHER Passage produced for the Ordination of Priests by Priests (whether of their own or another degree) is in PAUL'S (45) Epistle to the Romans, viz. *How shall they preach except they be sent ?* We grant that none may be a publick Teacher, no more than bear any other publick Office or Magistracy, who is not duly call'd to his post, and empower'd to execute it, according as the laws and customs prescribe in the place where he lives. But this text has no relation in the world to the matter, tho' all sorts of Clergymen (at least the bulk of them) understand it of Ordination : for it is not spoken of the ordinary preaching of any doctrine, much less of the manner of authorizing any to do so ; but it concerns the first promulgation of certain matters of fact, as the abolishing of the Mosaick Law, and the succeeding of the Gospel in its room. The Apostle repeats an objection of the Jews against their being condemn'd for not believing in CHRIST, whose dispensation no body cou'd discover without some extraordinary Revelation, with-

M 4

out

out express notice from himself, or from such as had seen and heard him. This, tho' PAUL affirms the contrary, they deny to be their case in the following words: (46) *How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believ'd? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher, or one to tell it them? And how shall they preach except they be sent, or that it be reveal'd to them? But have they not heard,* answers PAUL? (47) *Yes verily; their sound is gone over all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Did not Israel know,* says he? and then he quotes MOSES and ISAIAH as prophesying of this very matter. Now what has all this to do with Ordination? It might well be apply'd to the first Preaching of the Gospel, but with no appearance of reason to the teaching, or inculcating, or pressing of the Christian Religion at this time, where it is already receiv'd and establish'd, and when any willing person in a Christian Country may sufficiently learn it from his Bible * * * *

CHAP.

(46) V. 4, 15.

(47) V. 19, 20, 21.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Religious Teachers instituted by
CHRIST.

I. **T**HE Religious Teachers instituted by CHRIST were from their several provinces, as we have observ'd, call'd some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers, and some by more of these names as they were at certain times differently employ'd, or according to the several dialects of the countries where they preach'd. They were ty'd to no certain place nor constant residence, having generously undertaken, to the utmost of their power, to preach and diffuse the Christian Doctrine among all the nations of the earth, and to provide effectual means for the preservation of it wheresoever they planted it. Among other privileges peculiar to their body, they are sometimes term'd Ambassadors (which is but another word for Apostle) because they were immediately sent by CHRIST to offer his Doctrine to the world according to the instructions they receiv'd from him; so that this appellation belongs only to them, and is most improperly apply'd to the present Teachers, many of whom are nevertheless very ready to assume the title, and are not a
little

little proud of the same. We read in other Histories (as well as in that of the New Testament) of their journeys, their success, and their troubles, tho' mixt with many fabulous Narrations. But because many pretend that TIMOTHY and TITUS were not admitted into the number of these extraordinary Teachers, besides the title of Evangelist expressly given the first, any one may in several passages of the New Testament acquaint himself with their labors, travels, and fellowship with the rest. Concerning TIMOTHY, consult the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Thessalonians, and the Hebrews. About TITUS, see the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, with that to the Galatians; and lastly, read the Epistle inscrib'd to himself, where it is plain that he was left only for a while in Crete to finish what remain'd imperfect, and to ordain Elders in every city there, which we'll prove by and by was a charge that belong'd to the extraordinary Ministers of Christianity, when perform'd by any single person. He went afterwards to Dalmatia; and PAUL may as well be reckon'd Bishop of Corinth, Antioch, or Athens, because he made some stay in those places, as that TITUS should be Bishop of Crete. Nor can I discover the reason why TIMOTHY should not have as much right to the Bishoprick of Thessalonica, whither he was sent by PAUL to confirm them in the Christian persuasion, as to that of Ephesus

Ephesus where he was desir'd by the same Apostle to tarry for some time, and see that no false or useles Doctrine might be taught there. It signifies nothing to object here that they did not immediately receive their commission from CHRIST, for such were not his only extraordinary Ministers, but likewise all those able persons that were willing to spread Christianity, and whom the Apostles chose for their coadjutors either to do so, or to travel and confirm it where it was already preach'd. These were the Evangelists properly so call'd, whereof PHILIP and STEPHEN were two as well as TIMOTHY and TITUS, to whom may be added the seventy Disciples: as also SOSTHENES, CLEMENS, BARNABAS, MARK, SILAS, and some others.

II. But as it was not enough thus to spread and settle their Religion in the world, where it might soon be corrupted or forgotten, they always declar'd it a main duty of Christians to instruct and exhort one another. Yet lest thro' the wickedness of some, the negligence of others, and the peculiar occupations of all, this should not be so exactly perform'd, they did, in every place, chuse out of their converts fit and able persons to put people in mind of their Religion, and that as much by the example of their own lives, as by the reasonableness and evidence of their Discourses. These ordinary Preachers of Christianity were to reside with their own
flocks.

flocks. They might not pretend to any new Doctrine, but were only oblig'd to publish and explain that already deliver'd; to the observation whereof they could not force any, but persuade all they could. They were not to fine, damn, or burn; but to exhort and convince gain-sayers. Nay, should they take upon them to trouble people with fabulous wonders, Traditions, or Genealogies; with Logomachys, philosophical Subtleties, or any thing not tending to the improvement of their understanding or practice, they were not to be heard or obey'd had they been Angels from Heaven. And however useful Miracles might be esteem'd to gain authority or credit to the first publishers of any Doctrine, especially among the Jews, yet this reaches not the ordinary Teachers: for when the question do's not concern persons, and that men are dispos'd to receive Truth from any hand, 'tis then the pure merit of the Doctrine, consider'd in its nature and consequences, that is to come under examination; without any fruitless disquisitions about its age or origin, which are the entangling pretences of designing heads, and proofs only to the weak or superstitious.

III. In all the ancient writings, as well the spurious as authentic, we find these ordinary Ministers of Christianity, call'd for the most part Presbyters or Elders, and sometimes Bishops, which Greek word should be translated

translated Overseers. Now these two expressions are but several designations of the same persons. The name of Elder is taken from the gravity of their years, aptest to inculcate reverence and attention: for it was ever the policy of the best Governments to make action the business of the young, as they did government and counsel the province of the old. The other Denomination of Overseer imports the inspection committed to them over the information and conduct of the people; they being the censors of their manners, and the monitors of their duty. This will undeniably appear from those places of the New Testament, where Elders and Bishops are promiscuously us'd for one another. When PAUL in his Epistle (48) to TITUS enumerates the necessary qualifications of an Elder, he says among other things, *If any be blameless*, and presently subjoins, *because a Bishop must be blameless*; so that Elder and Bishop here signify both one thing. And when the same Apostle sent for the Elders of Ephesus to Miletus, he exhorts them (49) in these terms: *Take heed to your selves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made you Overseers.* *Episcopus*, every where besides a Bishop, is here translated Overseer not without a mystery; for did they put in Bishops, the people are not so stupid but

(48) *Tit. i. 5, 6, 7;*(49) *Act. xx. 17—28;*

but they must conclude these two words to be synonymous: and according to the present ideas of these words, the passage wou'd sound ridiculous, to tell the Presbyters that they were Bishops. PETER exhorts (50) the *Elders to feed the flock of CHRIST, overseeing it willingly, not by constraint; not for base lucre, but out of a ready mind; not as being Lords over God's inheritance, but as examples to the flock.* Now if the Elders were to oversee, surely they well might be, and for that reason, were stil'd Overseers, that is, in terms of art, if they might bishop the flock, they might be Bishops of it. The qualifications and duties of Elders and Bishops are the same in the Epistles to TIMOTHY to TITUS, and every where else. The ordination or appointment of both is the same, which must have been separately confer'd, and different in form, were the persons so in their capacities. The Apostles write to Bishops and Deacons (51) at Philippi, where there cou'd not be plural Bishops in the sense of the word; and speak of Bishops, or Elders and Deacons indifferently; but not a word of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as three distinct orders or offices. When there arose a difference among the Christians about the observation of certain legal rites, we meet with the Elders call'd to consult with the
Apostles

(50) 1 Pet. v. 12.

(51) Phil. i. 1.

Apostles about that matter, and their Letters of resolution sent to the Christians of other Countries, without any mention made of another rank of ordinary Teachers. And so it is all over the New Testament, notwithstanding it is asserted by some, that *'tis evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these three orders in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* About the three words in Scripture there is no dispute; but that they signify there so many orders, I think the contrary is now made very plain.

IV. We meet with another set of men, not more peculiar to Christians than to Jews or Heathens; I mean the Deacons, which should be properly translated Ministers or Servants. They were public spirited (52) persons of eminent probity (and not a particular set of Ecclesiastics) appointed to collect and distribute what charitable people bestow'd upon the needy, in the faithful discharge of which duty they did much approve themselves to the community. The Christians then were so far from having hospitals or physicians at command, as by frequent persecutions to be perpetually expos'd to all the inconveniencies of imprisonment, sickness, weariness, hunger, and cold: and because women in
these

these cases are generally more serviceable than men, there were pious and charitable widows (but none under sixty) appointed for that attendance. It was likewise a part of the duty of these to instruct the younger sort of their own sex in Religion and Virtue; neither decency, nor the customs of those times allowing the ordinary Teachers (who are no more exempted from certain passions than other men) to be familiar with them out of the publick Assemblies. Some will tell you that after Christianity degenerated into superstition, and as a part of that corruption, religious Celibacy grew in fashion, the Priests got those Deaconesses abolish'd, that they might have a plausible occasion of entertaining the young women in private. But letting that pass, the Deacons were principally employ'd in serving or ministring to the sick, to the poor, and at tables in their feasts of charity; as the Elders or Overseers had the charge of reforming manners, and propagating virtue. It behov'd such as imprint a spiritual character upon the Deaconship, and make it a necessary step to the Priesthood, to translate the Deaconess PHÆBE, a Servant of the Church at Cenchrea; for otherwise women might claim the Priesthood, and so Episcopacy, which would make a female Pope neither wonderful nor infrequent, considering the interest of the fair. But if the persons were permitted to retain their original office of looking after the poor, there had

been no need of shuffling thus with words to throw dust in the eyes of the people, who are not aware that *Servant* is but the translation of *Deaconess*. I gave an instance before of such fair dealing, and, to speak nothing of acknowledg'd difficulties, I have observ'd some hundreds of places in the New Testament and other ancient writings, not only thus cunningly, but even falsely rendred; which is to be fear'd, could not proceed from any ignorance of the tongues in some of the Translators, but either to maintain certain opinions and customs already establish'd, or to countenance the introduction of more. But to return to the Deacons, it is objected that PHILIP and STEPHEN preach'd; as if I had deny'd that men of parts, approving themselves in the Diaconat, might not as well as all other Christians be translated to another office, as PHILIP was promoted to be an Evangelist. Besides, it is the undoubted right of every person in discourse or writing to maintain the truth, and upon proper occasions to teach it others; tho', for avoiding confusion, none but those allow'd may do it in publick Assemblies.

V. We are now to enquire by whom these persons, thus set apart for the common good of the Society, were and ought to be appointed or ordain'd. We have seen before that the extraordinary Preachers of Christianity did always nominate Elders, wheresoever

N

they

they planted their Religion. For, to pass by their Authority, and the care of all the Churches being upon them, none doubtless, better knew the abilities of their own Profelytes. But no other particular persons can with more right succeed them in this privilege, than in their power of discerning spirits. As soon as the Christians became pretty numerous, the Elders were chosen by the votes of the People : and without these, the Apostles themselves did nothing of common concern. MATTHIAS was elected into the Apostleship against the other candidate JOSEPH the Just by the Ballot, or as we translate it, by the lots of about one hundred and twenty, which were all the Christians of the place. TIMOTHY, an Evangelist, was ordain'd by PAUL in conjunction with the Elders. The Deacons were appointed by the People, who are the best judges of such among'em as deserve that office. And to add another instance, PAUL tells us that BARNABAS was, together with himself, tho' an Apostle, chosen by all the Assemblies to travel. It cannot be contested but that Apostles and Evangelists might be appointed by those of the same order without the joint consent or approbation of others ; for it is highly reasonable, that the author or immediate publishers of a Doctrine (as well as of any new invention) should have the choice and nomination of the first managers. But if even upon such occasions, the Apostles thought fit to desire the concurrence

rence of their profelytes, what, pray, can incapacitate the People now from chusing the ordinary Ministers, so immediately relating to themselves? especially, seeing there are no persons at this time in the world, to whom any deference ought to be paid upon the score of extraordinary gifts or power: and, equivocally to say, that none can give but what they have, proves as strongly that the citizens of London cannot chuse their Sheriffs, nor the nobility of Poland their King, since every elector is not himself a King or a Sheriff.

VI. In this case therefore, as in all other publick affairs of the People, the right of Election is theirs; or, which is the same thing, of such a sufficient number, answerable to them, upon whom they shall devolve it, when they cannot all conveniently meet in one place. If they be allow'd not only to chuse their Mayors and Aldermen, but also their Lawyers or Physicians, of whose professions they are such incompetent judges, with much greater reason may they elect their Ecclesiastick Teachers, in whom no essential quality is requir'd, that every Christian is not bound to possess. All men are frequently commanded by the voice of CHRIST and Reason, not only to be well exercis'd in piety and the knowledge of the truth, but also to instruct their families and neighbours, to admonish and reprove, to comfort and edify one another.

So that the only difference between the People and their Teachers consists, as I remark'd before, in this; namely, that lest these duties should thro' vice, neglect, or business, be generally omitted, certain persons are set apart by all to preach them, which exempts no body from particular obligations. I affirm therefore that any Society of Christians may out of their own number, or any other body of people, pitch upon willing persons, with the necessary qualifications to be their Overseers. This is the most divine and regular Mission upon earth, as agreeable to original practice, and the light of reason which is the candle of the Lord. But that the Overseers should exclusively of the People chuse one another, much less be ordain'd by one, is both unreasonable and unsafe, as I shall make it appear e're I have done. Whoever assents to these truths, must likewise grant that he's no longer an Overseer that is depos'd for just causes, as being ignorant, debauch'd, or an enemy to the Government. No more is he that has no charge at present, tho' formerly the Pastor of an assembly: for 'tis the relation between the assembly and him that gave him this denomination, which perishes as soon as that is dissolv'd. The distinction therefore between a Minister and the exercise of his Ministry, is quite as ridiculous, as when in other words they say, that he is a Minister in habit who is not one in act, which is to be actually none at all. For my own part, I don't

don't look upon any in the nation, however dignify'd or distinguish'd, that is not somewhere an actual Teacher, and as such receiv'd by the People, to be more a Bishop, Elder, or Pastor (term it as you please) than I think him this year Lord Mayor, that was so the last; or that a shepherd remains one, after the flock is all sold to the butchers or devour'd by the wolves. And when I call those persons by any of the aforesaid or equivalent names, I'm then forc'd to use the language of custom and not of reason, which in many other points is the misfortune of more besides my self. All they can claim is a capacity of being Teachers, when any society pleases to authorize 'em; to which every willing and qualify'd Christian may pretend as well as they: for this only amounts to possibility and fitness: nor will any body deny but that a man who has already approv'd himself in teaching, is preferable to another, of whose abilities the world has had no experience, nor that such a person is deserving of honor and respect wherever he comes, if he has worthily executed his office; but the same is as true of all other callings important to the common-wealth.

VII. Most of those who make Bishops a superior order to other Priests or Ministers, teach a very different doctrine from this. For, according to them, the Bishop only may ordain; and let the People be never so unani-

mous, or let their Teachers be unexceptionable in their lives, learning, and doctrine, yet if they receive not their power from a Bishop they have no Christian Church or Assemblies, nor can they reap any benefit from the practice of religious Duties. This is one of the most extravagant and uncharitable positions that was ever heard. It's absolutely as wild and contradictory to common sense, as Transubstantiation ; and excludes as many from Heaven, as this renders Idolaters. For to assert that such as are firmly persuaded of the doctrine of CHRIST, and conscientiously practise his precepts, are no Christians without this Clerical Hierarchy, is evidently as absurd as believing that to be no bread which I saw made and sold, wherein I find the usual colour, taste, and all other properties, because it was not bak'd in some oven appointed by Authority ; or as if I thought nothing could quench my thirst but what I drank out of silver. But if the effects of liquor remain the same, be the vessel of earth or of glass ; so they are good Christians, let their Mission (as they speak) be what it will, who believe and practise the Doctrine of CHRIST. Nor shall I make any distinction how they came by their Religion, whether under the discipline of masters, or by their own private industry and study.

VIII. Some are likewise so strangely blinded by Education, but more by Interest, as to imagine he ceases not being a Teacher that
 was

was once lawfully ordain'd, tho' he becomes deaf, or dumb, or any other way incapable to exercise his office; a privilege never claim'd or pretended by any sort of Magistrates, except of late by some Kings, since the Creation. This wonder is perform'd by virtue of a certain sacred, unknown, invisible, yet indelible Character, as unintelligibly stamp'd on the soul at the imposition of the Bishops hands in Ordination, as a small crumb of bread is transform'd into the body of CHRIST by four words of a Mass-priest. *Chirotonia*, or the elevation of hands, was in most Commonwealths (particularly those of Greece and Asia, where the Apostles travell'd) the way of giving Suffrages at Elections, as it is now in the Guild hall of London; whence the very act of appointing a Magistrate, or giving of votes, tho' after another manner, is sometimes figuratively so call'd, as none will deny that has read the new Testament or prophane Authors in the original Greek. *Chirothesia*, or the imposition of hands, was a ceremony peculiarly us'd by the Jews, not always to denote an internal change or character, as some ridiculously maintain (which I cannot persuade my self they believe) but, when there was nothing extraordinary, as a solemn designation of the person appointed to any office in the Government; whereby the ratification of his Election was declar'd, himself shewn to the people, and recommended to their love and respect. Upon all occasions of this na-

ture some sign must unavoidably be employ'd, whether it be by proclamation, the imposition of others hands, stretching out of his own; the delivering of a sword, a book, a staff; the putting on a crown, a cap, a robe, or any other way. But all these are in themselves indifferent, and depend entirely upon custom. Now most of the Christian Clergy have constantly retain'd every where the ceremony of ordaining Magistrates us'd in Judea, where the first of their order were appointed; while the people of other places observing their own national rites, and changing fashions sometimes in this as in other matters, are apt to imagine the Clergy would not depart from the common forms, if something more than a bare designation was not meant by their peculiar custom: particularly when they read that the first who were so ordain'd could perform extraordinary things; tho' daily experience may convince them, that nothing unusual follows upon the mere laying on of a Bishop or Presbyter's hands. Let such therefore as pretend the contrary, convince us by miracles; and let those, who are not so extravagant, acknowledge the use of this ceremony to be no more essential to theirs, than the ordination of any civil officers, and so let them indifferently use or forbear it according to the various Customs of different places, but never affect or press it as a necessary Rite of divine Institution.



A
PROJECT
OF A
JOURNAL

Intended to be published weekly.

Jan. 1. 1704-5.



HAVE thoroughly consider'd, Sir, the Subject of our last Discourse, and I am not only perfectly convinc'd of the usefulness of what you propos'd, but likewise fully determin'd to begin the Correspondence you desire; which I hope will be agreeable to your self, as I shall constantly endeavour it may neither be unprofitable nor ungrateful to the Publick. 'Tis very surprizing that something of this nature has not been thought of in our country before, or, if any had form'd such a design, that it was never yet executed. Perhaps they thought that the Law and the Gospel

Gospel were sufficient. Our Laws, it's true, enforce the observation of moral and social Duties, and 'tis acknowledg'd, even beyond the seas, that our Divines are the best Preachers in the world. But as all Duties come not directly under the cognizance of the Laws, nor all the different circumstances of any Duty whatsoever; so the Magistrate is but half obey'd by those, who can elude the intention of the Legislators, either in point of time or place, or in any other particular not foreseen at the beginning: and he's often not at all obey'd, by such as know no other reason of the Law, but only the authority that has given it a sanction, which they regard as a meer force, that might as well have appointed the contrary; a power that acts with no regard to the good of private persons, farther than they contribute to encrease the grandeur, wealth, and security of the Government. But when these very men perceive the beauty, harmony, and reasonableness of Virtue in it self; how much it is their own outward interest and inward satisfaction to practise it, (supposing there had been neither praise nor rewards to encourage it, nor any punishments or disgrace to prevent the contrary,) and when they see that the good of all persons indifferently is the scope of the Laws, whence the Government is wealthy, wise, or powerful, only as the wealth, and wisdom, and power of the Nation make it so: then a more chearful and sincere obedience will be yielded

yielded by them to the Laws, and the Magistrate be better imploy'd in distributing honor than inflicting of shame. This is likewise as true of the Divines, because the intrinsick worth and rational evidence of religious Duties, will naturally confirm what they preach to the people, viz. that such things are commanded by God, and acceptable to him, since their being both intelligible and practicable make them truly worthy of God, who could not shew his beneficence more, than in giving man a rule so much for his advantage, which could not therefore be invented by those that teach it, for their own credit, gain, or authority.

2. But not to detain you longer upon a subject you understand so well, I shall rather convince you that I took your meaning right, by shewing you in what manner I design to execute your Project: for as to the justifying of a private man for concerning himself with the publick, or proving that this is one of the properest ways wherein I could serve my Country, I shall touch upon it in another Letter, which will be upon the Publick Good, or the common Interest of the Society.

3. Once a Week then you may expect to receive a Letter from me, containing a Sheet of paper, upon some subject of general use, and which you are permitted for that reason to publish to the world. This is the whole
3 design

design in two words. But to make it plain beyond all suspicion of saying one thing and meaning another, I take a Week's time for every Letter, not only to give my self leisure enough without interrupting my other affairs, and not to overburthen the attention, or to pall the curiosity of the Reader: but also to leave no excuse for an ill performance, and to keep a just medium between such Papers as come abroad too often or too seldom; which last therefore are sometimes quite forgot, as the former must exhaust the most fruitful invention. The day of publication shall be Wednesday, because most people are then in Town, and that those who come from their Country-houses may receive this lecture fresh before them for their instruction or entertainment; as they may lay it by, if the hurry of their business requires it, till they are gone again.

4. A Sheet of Paper is the least that can be taken for handling a subject of any importance with the care it deserves, and perhaps in most subjects, that come under our consideration, it is paper enough too: for if Authors did not generally propose, not so much to clear the matter, as to write a volume of a certain bulk, their reasonings and facts might often be reduc'd within a very small compass; and we see sometimes, that the Abridgment of a folio by an able hand into half a sheet, is ab etter Treatise on the subject than than the
 2. Original,

Original, and more esteem'd by good judges. But however, when I chance to light on any Argument that cannot be sufficiently clear'd in one sheet, it shall be continu'd in the next, or in more, as there may be a necessity for it; tho' I am of opinion, that such cases will very rarely happen.

5. As for the Subject of our Letters, it shall be any thing that may be useful and acceptable to the publick; but chiefly the moral Virtues, remarkable passages of History, philosophical Disquisitions, and the detection of popular Errors. The thread and body of the Letter will always consist of the main subject, capable of such embellishments and examples as may divert, as well as of such grave and solid reasonings as may instruct. Any subject in the world, and, what at first sight would seem the unlikeliest to do it, may give a natural occasion for resolving important doubts in Learning, for making new Discoveries in Nature or Art, for critical Remarks, and for quoting verses, epigrams, fragments, and passages of Authors, such as are not in the hands of every body, and that even the most knowing would be something puzzl'd to find, or that indeed they never observ'd. Not that I promise you all this, Sir: but that if now and then you meet with things of this nature, you may not think it foreign to the Subject; unless you find that there's no connection between them, nor any chain of thought
or

or expreffion, whereby the one gave occaſion for mentioning the other.

6. The whole World is the ſtorehouſe of the Materials I ſhall uſe; antient and modern, foreign and domeſtick Books; the Letters and Converſation of other perſons; the face of Nature and my own particular Thoughts. So that 'tis impoſſible I ſhould ever be at a loſs for a ſubject, but rather in ſuſpence which to prefer, and how with the exacteſt judgment to chuſe properly among ſo many. But one indiſpenſable law I propoſe to my ſelf, is, that the ſubject be ſomething which may be generally entertaining, for which reaſon I ſhall always treat of it in a ſtile and method intelligible to every body. The Quotations out of other Languages ſhall be expreſt in our own, with the original in the margin; excepting Verſes now and then, which often loſe their grace and beauty tranſlated, the whole turn perhaps depending on the dialect wherein they were written. Let no man therefore imagine that this will be a work above his ſphere or capacity: for 'tis in the moral part of it equally intended for the good of all, and the learn'd part of it is particularly deſign'd for thoſe, who have not the leiſure, nor ever had the opportunity to turn over many Books. And 'tis eſpecially hop'd that the Ladies, who neither do nor ought to undergo ſuch drudgery, will in theſe Letters find ſomething that may pleaſe them,

them, tho' not worth their while to make a painful search for it in bulky volumes. 'Tis the duty of us men to ease and serve them in this, as in any thing besides.

7. This Miscellany therefore being design'd to be of universal benefit, the sheets are printed all on the same Paper and Letter with this Specimen, and the number of the Pages are continued in the order of other books: so that every person may preserve his sheets clean till a Volume be finish'd, which then he may cause to be bound after his own fancy. The heads, or Paragraphs, of every Letter are likewise number'd; that any thing may be the easier found or referr'd to, and for the more perfect framing of the Index, which will be at the end of every volume. Now one word to my self, and another to my Readers. As for me, I thus write a Book at my own leisure, and 'tis the same thing as if I publish'd it under some general Title, though the Pieces be entirely independent of one another; as some have done under the names of Collections, Various Readings, Memorable Things, Storehouses, Nofegays, Treasuries, Gleanings, or such other serious or whimsical Titles, denoting variety of Matter. And as for others, the method I take is infinitely preferable, because they have no trouble in reading the Book by parts, which would deter them in one volume. They have abundantly more time to digest
the

the contents, than if they came on their hands all together. The expence will be no more than if they bought the whole Book, nor so much ; besides that 'tis perfectly intensible to most, and easy to all manner of persons.

8. Now, Sir, I'll tell you, and, in telling it to you, I declare to the Publick what I am resolv'd not to do ; and whenever I transgress those Rules, my labour, no doubt, will find a suitable reception. There's no fear in the first place, that the Reader should be disappointed as to the cause of publication, the materials of these Papers not depending on the wind or weather, on dangerous or dirty ways, on private correspondence or publick permission ; and therefore not subject to amuse any with false or sham intelligence, to tire him with nauseous repetitions, or to banter him with idle tattle at home for want of good stories from abroad : which is not said in derogation of News-papers (which in all good Governments are of singular use, under a due regulation) but as things they cannot possibly avoid, if they keep up the order of their Papers, and to which the present undertaking is no way lyable. Neither, as in such daily Papers, shall any part of ours be taken up with Advertisements of any kind, which would not only be unfair, but also ridiculous, to make the Readers pay for what others have lost or found, or what the Bookseller has to sell, instead of the matter with which

We have promis'd to furnish him. But an Account of Books newly publish'd, shall always make up, at least, one third part of this Journal.

9. Next we shall above all things avoid going out of our way to meddle with any Factions or parties at home, with civil or religious professions, designing to hurt none, and to oblige all, to the utmost of our power. We shall not rake into private or family affairs; much less abuse any person by his name at length or abridg'd, nor under any colour, representation, or pretence whatsoever; this being inconsistent with all good manners, policy, or society, being a real assassination when committed by anonymous writers, against whom the injur'd person has no reparation. Our design leads us not to concern our selves with particular men, or, if it should, it must be to speak well and not ill of them; and when we produce any as examples of worth or baseness, they shall be commonly out of antient or foreign History: or, since our own Country abounds with instances of all kinds, having been for many ages so famous a theatre of action; I may well mention the living for the honor and countenance of virtue, but in disparaging of vice, the names I use shall be of persons long since dead, and in whom the families of the living are not concern'd.

10. Nor is it to be fear'd that this Paper should ever incur the displeasure of the Government, since serving the Publick and the Government is certainly one and the same thing, especially in our happy Country (if our own happiness we could but truly distinguish and value) where the interest of the one and the other are inseparable. By serving the Government therefore, I mean, not being the pensionary of a secret Cabal, nor the trumpet of a designing Minister, nor the tool of an ambitious Prince : but every man serves a good Government, who contributes (according to his power) to render the members of it wise and vertuous, which leads them of course to be peaceable and obedient ; to bottom their felicity on the publick welfare wherein their particular interest is involv'd ; consequently to promote the glory, wealth and tranquillity of their Country, whereof they become proportionable sharers ; and readily to yield all honor, duty and reverence to the person and authority of the Magistrate, who deserves it so well for the dangers, pains and care which he undergoes for the whole and every part.

11. I need say no more, either as a preface to my Book, or as an account of my design ; but that whoever has any thing to intimate or communicate, any hint that he thinks to be seasonable, any favorite notion or peculiar discovery, which can naturally enter into
this

this work, let such Pacquets be address'd to the Bookseller, with a Letter containing the desires of the sender, and I shall comply, or give reasons for not doing it, if the subject be of any importance; as to any observations or exceptions that may be made relating to these Papers, such as have a mind to cavil, to shew their talent, or to make a noise about something, will be sure to print without consulting any body; and to such we have nothing to say, because we have no amendment to expect from them. But as for those who are really concern'd for truth, and who have any doubts to propose, or objections to make, who require a further explication of any thing, or that can point out any real mistakes, they shall receive a satisfactory answer, and thanks into the bargain: for as I have merely engag'd in this undertaking for the sake of truth; so the Reader may be satisfy'd that I shall not endeavour to support it by any falshood.

12. And now, to return to your self, Sir, go on as you have advis'd and encourag'd me, to cultivate your understanding, to encrease your knowledge, to instruct your neighbours, and to rectify their manners. Whoever does not make use of his Reason, is not only ungrateful to neglect so excellent a gift of God, but actually prefers the state of brutes to humanity. But whoever, on the contrary, has addicted himself to a serious con-

O 2

templation

templation of the works of God and Nature; to a diligent examination of times and places, and to an impartial enquiry into men and opinions (which is what we truly call Philosophy, and not any peculiar system of the Schools) whoever, I say, will thus employ his mind, must needs be pleased with this Undertaking, and break out with CICERO (1) into this divine Exclamation: “ O vitae Phi-
 “ losophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix expul-
 “ trixque vitiorum! quid non modò nos, sed
 “ omnino vita hominum, sine te esse potuisset?
 “ Tu urbes peperisti, tu dissipatos homines in
 “ societatem vitae convocasti. Tu eos inter se,
 “ primum domiciliis, deinde conjugis, tum
 “ literarum & vocum communione junxisti.
 “ Tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum
 “ & disciplinae fuisti. Ad te confugimus, a te
 “ opem petimus, tibi nos penitus totosque tra-
 “ dimus. Est autem unus dies bene, & ex prae-
 “ ceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati an-
 “ teponendus. Cujus igitur potius opibus uta-
 “ mur quàm tuis, quæ & vitae tranquillitatem
 “ nobis largita es, & terrorem mortis sustu-
 “ listi ”. *O Philosophy! thou guide of life,*
thou discoverer of virtues, and expeller of vices!
what manner of life should not only ours, but
that of all men in general be without thee?
By thee it was that cities were founded, and
mankind assembled into society which lived
dispersed before. Thou first didst join them in
their

(1) *Tusc. Disp.* l. 5. c. 2.

their habitations, next in marriages, and then by a mutual participation of languages and letters. Thou we'rt the inventress of laws, the mistress of learning and manners. With thee we take sanctuary, from thee we beg assistance, to thee we perfectly and wholly resign our selves: for one day well spent, according to thy precepts, is preferable to an erring eternity. What other helps therefore should we use but thine, who hast bestowed upon us the tranquillity of life, and remov'd the terror of death.

13. Thus I have done with my Plan. But this design of a weekly Paper puts me in mind of that most true saying of King SOLOMON, that *there is nothing new under the sun*, no not in the meanest trifles which we think are but of yesterday's invention, as (to give you a trivial instance) the illuminations in windows, which of late years we have substituted to our old rows of bone-fires: yet if you look into JUVENAL, you find them there exactly describ'd and practis'd on great days, especially on the birth-days of Princes:

*Herodis venere dies, pinguesque fenestris
Ordine dispositæ flammam vomuere lucernæ.*

And tho' I will not at this time affirm, that there ever was such a weekly Paper as mine, yet 'tis undeniable of *the Daily Courant*, seeing there was in Rome a Daily Journal of all that past in that city, compil'd

with the approbation and under the direction of the Magistrate. These were the *Acta diurna*, of which I shall give you more particulars, and some fragments at the end of my Letter next Tuesday, which, as I promised you, shall be concerning *the Publick Good*. I need not be so formal as to tell you every time, what you know so well; and therefore now once for all I subscribe my self your most faithful humble and obedient Servant.





A
M E M O R I A L
F O R
The Most Honourable
T H E E A R L O F * * *
C O N T A I N I N G
A Scheme of Coalition.

M Y L O R D,



AFTER paying my acknowledgements for your last favor, I cannot but complain I have so seldom of late the honor of admittance to your Lordship; and when I obtain it, that no opportunity is given me to speak of any thing to any purpose. I am ignorant, as I told you, whom you meant for other day, by my particular friends that were
O 4
against

against the Peace : but of this I am sure, that all my acquaintance are unanimous in their sentiments. Particular friends in this case I have none, but the House of Hanover : and, tho' a good Peace be a good thing, we are persuaded no peace can be good for their interest at this time ; and much less a peace that gives up Spain and the Indies to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, or to any French Prince whatsoever. This, MY LORD, but not the spirit of any party, nor partiality for any ministry, is the ground of our opposition. I therefore conjure your Lordship, by all the friendship I entertain and profess for you, to consider, whether it be adviseable in any Minister to carry on a thing so perfectly disgusting to the next Successor ? and I beseech you to permit me (as your most sincere wellwisher) freely to tell you, that a clandestine negociation with France sounds very ill to English ears, even in times of the profoundest peace. I have been so much amaz'd, on the one hand, at the circumstances of this transaction from the beginning : and I have had so much confidence in your Lordship, on the other hand, as looking upon you to be most true to the Succession, that I made my self and others too believe, that the whole was a trick upon the French King and the High-Church ; and that, as soon as the publick money was all granted, you wou'd upon very good pretexs break with both of them, and be the author of a happy Coalition

tion between the true friends of their Country, which are the moderate Whigs and the moderate Tories. Several of these denominations have, from time to time, made application to me to convey their thoughts on this matter to your Lordship; which I wholly declin'd, when I perceiv'd such difficulties both of access and speech, as judging my good offices of this kind were no longer agreeable. Among the rest a person of undoubted credit among the Whigs, and that undertook (without presumption) for the leaders, propos'd about two months ago this Scheme, which I took in writing upon the spot from his own mouth :

I. A Coalition, wherein the Earl of G*** and the Earl of S*** should be left for some small time unemploy'd by consent, the reason of which is self evident: that in this administration your own figure should not only be chief, but be continu'd so, as a security whereof the balance of the Parliament should be put into your hands.

II. Present dissolution of this Parliament, which might be time enough for the year's service, witness the last Parliament of King WILLIAM; that the qualifying Act past last sessions, wou'd throw out at least a hundred; besides, that the heats about SACHEVERELL being quite allay'd, and such a number of hotheads disappointed by this Ministry, there
wou'd

would not be so much money spent now on that side.

III. Pretexts for the dissolution various, especially that the money'd people will never trust this Parliament.

IV. A certain number of moderate Tories nam'd, in conjunction with whom the Whigs were willing to act.

And so he concluded, that, the present Ministry miscarrying, you must be ruin'd of course, all being imputed to your Lordship, who will be made to pass for a single Minister : whereas, on the foot of this Scheme, others will be answerable as well as your self for any measures that shall be taken.

This message I peremptorily refus'd to carry, for the reasons abovesaid; but told the person (whose name shall be mention'd, if you desire it, according to the permission he gave me) that, if your Lordship intended any such thing at all, I was of opinion the proper time would be after this Parliament should grant the year's charge : for then their falling into heats about the Peace, or reviving the High-Church projects against the Dissenters, a misunderstanding upon any score between both houses, or something else that may break out by chance or contrivance, would serve as better pretexts for a Dissolution, and beget a better disposition in the
I
electors,

electors, who understand nothing, at least very few of 'em, concerning credit, tho' in it self a most essential point. *Sed illud quoque valeat quantum valere potest.* Many other representations of no less importance I was entirely discourag'd from offering; and had you given me the hearing, the world should never have seen his Electoral Highness's late Memorial. Don't you now find by experience, MY LORD, that what I wrote to you about that Court near a twelvemonth since, is exactly true? Instead then of your P*** and your S*** you ought to dispatch me privately to Hanover this minute, where you'll find me as secret, as I hope to be successful. In my judgment it imports you not a little, were it but for the Queen's service, to clear up some things there. If you are of the same opinion, I know Holland so exactly as to engage my life for passing and repassing unobserv'd; giving out here, that I am retir'd some where into the country. I need say no more, but that as my interest is inseparable from that Family, so none upon earth wishes better to your particular person. But we must come to a nearer understanding. If you'll please to send me any letter or message, let it be to the same house where I lodg'd, and where your chaplain succeeds me. Delays are dangerous.

I am,

MY LORD,

*Your Lordship's most faithful
humble Servant.*



Another
M E M O R I A L
F O R
The Most Honourable
T H E E A R L O F * * *

London, Dec. 17, 1711.

MY LORD,



A M so far from being troublesome by frequent, affected, or officious visits to the great men, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted, that the fear of offending this way, is rather more likely to argue me guilty of negligence or disrespect ; and to make me pass for one that either clownishly knows not, or that sullenly cares not to make his court. But as my circumstances must clear me from the last imputation ; so the company I have ever kept, and the good reception I have often had from
I many

many Princes, in whose Courts I have resided, or with whom I had any business to transact, will (I doubt not) set me right as to the first. *Principibus placuisse viris, non ultima laus est.* Your Lordship in particular will acknowledge, that I am not wont to interrupt my friends about trifles. But I am very sensibly mov'd (I own) at the unusual difficulty of access I find of late to your Lordship, when at the same time, I have scarce ever fail'd of meeting those going up your stairs or coming down; who, not very long since, wou'd have been afraid to be found in the same house with you: men (as I then thought) the most opposite to you in principles, and men who were the most bitter in their sarcasms against your reputation, when I suffer'd the reproaches of my best friends for adhering to your interest; personal, I mean, and not always political.

But as, in the quality of a States-man and Prime Minister, you are to deal with all sorts of persons; so I don't complain of their good, but of my own bad usage. I need not mention how many years ago our familiarity commenc'd, founded upon the same love of Letters and Liberty, which to generous spirits are stronger ties, than even those of blood or alliance. As little need I mention, how inviolably I have observ'd the rights of friendship, both in the times of your prosperity and adversity. My enemies never objected
the

the contrary to me: whereas a certain (1) couple, I often see coming from you, and who are known to be high in your favor, are remarkable for nothing so much as the one for his levity, the other for his ingratitude, and both for their insufficiency; which indeed does excellently qualify 'em for tools, if that be your design. They have ambition enough to turn and return, to say and do, to unsay and undo as they are bid: nor have you any thing to risk, when you use them as tools deserve. To you (I can say it without vanity) I am just the reverse. I might be sometimes mistaken in men, but never was so in things. My management abroad, my behavior at home, what I whisper'd in private, and what I printed to the world, all speak the same language, all tend to the same end. But of this point on some other occasion: my business now is more particular. My adhering to your interest, MY LORD, when it was not my own to do so, made several people entertain an opinion of me, to which I can lay no manner of claim; as if I were no less engag'd in your Lordship's confidence and concerns, than you are in my respect and esteem. This perseverance of mine, and this only, is the foundation of that notion, which, tho' to me so reputable, I was never industrious to propagate: but rather insinuated quite the contrary to all those, who, led by this mistake, solicited my interest for access to
your

(1) S * * * and P * * *.

your person, or intercession in their behalf; constantly refusing the most tempting offers, and often when I had not many guineas left for superfluous expence.

I defy the whole world to produce an instance to the contrary. I laid an honeſter Scheme of ſerving my Country, your Lordſhip, and my ſelf: for ſeeing it was neither convenient for you, nor a thing at all deſir'd by me, that I ſhould appear in any publick poſt, I ſincerely propos'd (as occaſions ſhould offer) to communicate to your Lordſhip my obſervations on the temper of the miniſtry, the diſpoſitions of the people, the condition of our enemies or allies abroad, and what I might think moſt expedient in every conjuncture; which advice you were to follow in whole, or in part, or not at all, as your own ſuperior wiſdom ſhould direct. My general acquaintance, the ſeveral languages I ſpeak, the experience I have acquir'd in foreign affairs, and being engag'd in no intereſt at home, beſides that of the publick, ſhou'd (one wou'd think) qualify me in ſome meaſure for this province; wherein I am of the mind more than one ought to be neceſſarily employ'd. All wiſe Miniſters have ever had ſuch private monitors. As much as I thought my ſelf fit, or was thought ſo by others, for ſuch general obſervations, ſo much have I ever abhorred, MY LORD, thoſe particular obſervers we call Spies; which aſperſion nevertheleſs on
your

your account, neither I, nor yet some other men, who as little deserv'd it, cou'd wholly escape from the malice of yours or our own ill-wishers : as if none cou'd approach a great man, without entring straight into his measures right or wrong. But I despise the calumny no less than I detest the thing : and as you, on your part, must own that I never injur'd any man or woman to you ; so I'll do you the justice, on my part, that Your Lordship never thought so unworthily of me as to hint, much less to require any thing of this kind. Of such general observations then as I offer'd, you shou'd have perus'd a far greater number, than I thought fit to present hitherto, had I discover'd by due effects that they were acceptable from me : for they must unavoidably be receiv'd from some body, and, as I said, from more than one hand, unless a Minister were omniscient. Yet I soon had good reason to believe, I was not design'd for the man ; whatever the original sin cou'd be that made me incapable of such a trust, and which I now begin to suspect. Without direct answers to my proposals, how cou'd I know whether what I did here was a service or a disservice ? whether I help'd my friends elsewhere, or betray'd them contrary to my intentions ? and accordingly, I have for some time been very cautious and reserv'd. But if Your Lordship will frankly please to enter into any measures with me on a fair and honourable foot, I shall not
only

only use all the faithfulness and diligence in my power to procure the good of my country ; but be more ready to serve your Lordship, in this, or in some becoming capacity, than any other Minister. They who confided to my management affairs of a higher nature, have found me exact as well as secret. My impenetrable negotiation at Vienna (hid under the pretence of curiosity) was not only applauded by the Prince that employ'd me, but also proportionably rewarded. And here, MY LORD, give me leave to say, that I have found England miserably serv'd abroad since this change, as in some cases before : and our Ministers at home are sometimes as great strangers to the genius, as to the persons of those with whom they have to do. I foresee that a little time will convince you of this, especially in . . . where you have placed the most unacceptable man in the world, one that liv'd in a scandalous misunderstanding with the Minister of the States at another Court, one that has been the laughing-stock of all courts for his senseless haughtiness and most ridiculous airs, and one that can never judge aright unless by accident in any thing.

Now what is it that should hinder your Lordship, after so long an acquaintance, from honoring me with your Patronage and Commands, but some disagreement to the conditions demanded by me, or in the principles on which we are both to proceed ? To per-

suade me of either of these, I fancy will be a harder task than most men can easily perform. The annual allowance I have proposed is so moderate, and the ways of securing it to me (without costing your Lordship any thing) are so many and so obvious, that it will admit of no other question, but whether you are still disposed to comply with it: for I had your promise for it the last time but one I had the honor to discourse with you, besides all the Letters and Promises of providing for me in general before. By declining a publick Post, not only out of prudence, but out of choice (which yet will scarce be credited) all pretences are remov'd of irritating any party or persons that should not approve my preferment, a thing unavoidable prefer who you will: and there are so many ways of accounting for my being easy, besides one relating to Learning I shall not name at present, that this point likewise admits of no difficulty. The work I mean will be no party-drudgery, nor wou'd the greatest Prince on earth think it below him to patronize it, whether he had the best, or the worst, or no Religion. But such will never like it, as are not hearty lovers of their Country.

As for the Principles on which we are both to act, I hope we are still more agreed. The special ones of usefully serving your Lordship, and securing a competent maintenance to my self, are supposed of course. But the
2 general

general ones which with me are unalterable and indispensable, are civil Liberty, religious Toleration, and the Protestant Succession. These are my conditions *sine qua non*: and he that will not agree with me on this foot, must never employ me nor ever trust me. This I take to be plain-dealing, as I take honesty to be the best policy. Sooner than recreantly espouse Prerogative, Persecution, or the Pretender, let me be utterly discarded, be exposed to all hazards, difficulties, and inconveniencies. To obviate any misunderstanding, MY LORD, I mean no more by Liberty than a government of Laws and not of will, particularly our own excellent constitution of King, Lords, and Commons: yet without the Juredivinship of the Prince, or the Passive-obedience of the Subject, the Laws being to both an equal rule. As the Whigs mean no other Commonwealth, contrary to the calumny of the furious and ill-affected part of the Tories; so I am persuaded many of the Tories are far from aiming at setting up irresistible Power or indefeasible Succession, contrary to the suggestions of some weak but well-meaning Whigs. The Papists and Jacobites are common enemies to both, and against these they must both join at last, or be ruin'd. Such a Commonwealth's-man I only approve, as your Lordship formerly was, when you encourag'd me to reprint *Harrington's Oceana*, tho' neither of us imagin'd the model it self to be practicable. For my own

part, as I have ever been, so I still declare myself to be a Whig: a Whig, I say, by denomination as well as 'by principle, in the sense that I have explain'd this word in a book I wrote by your Lordship's allowance and encouragement, *the Memorial of the State of England*. But I declare at the same time, that I am far from thinking the Prince, or even his chief Minister, should make himself the head of a party; which will not only render either or both of them contemptible, but likewise plunge 'em into inextricable difficulties. In this very respect I have often admir'd and applauded your Lordship, for so often in certain affairs recovering the over-setting vessel to its former steady course: and it shall be my ardentest wish, that no provocation of what nature soever, no precipitate measures of your associates, neither superior influence, nor inferior phrenzy, may be able to force you into any of those extremes, the edge of whose fury you have sometimes blunted or retorted with such admirable address. So have I always understood your conduct, and so have I always explain'd it in the sincerity of my heart, as well as by my inclination to have it so: so I understand your Lordship now (whether I be mistaken or not) and may I prove as true a Prophet as ever to my special Friends! But my mind in this matter is fully understood by the Scheme I presum'd to lay before you not very long ago about a Coalition, towards the effecting of which, nevertheless,

theless, the management of affairs since gives me very small hopes, and seems to portend quite the contrary, which must needs end in confusion.

Now if your Lordship keeps as firm as ever to the glorious principle of Liberty, you must by an inevitable consequence be entirely fixt in the next human and heavenly principle of Toleration. So far am I from apprehending you should, as some daily insinuate, promote any of the High-Church designs, those projects of APOLLYON, that I am persuaded (whatever use you may make of the Protestant Jesuits of Christ-Church) you can never favor those Priests who sawcily strike at the Queen's Supremacy, by asserting the Independency of the Church upon the State; who openly endeavour to make the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper pass for a proper Sacrifice the very essence of the Mass; who as boldly press the duty of private Confession to a Priest, in order to introduce the necessity of his lucrative Absolution; and who, by other means more covert and disguis'd, labour at reconciling ours with the Church of Rome, or rather to make the English Church as pompous, superstitious, and tyrannical as the Papal: the ultimate end of A***, S***, M***, and such other Preachers for Bishopricks, being nothing else but advancing the pride and power of Priests. This is their *Church of England*, and by this word is the mob deluded. How can I, that think I know

your Lordship so well, ever impose on my self so far, or suffer my friends to swallow such a monstrous absurdity, as that you should not strenuously support the legal Toleration, ay and the general Naturalization too, in their utmost latitude? as being the main springs and secrets of making any country flourish in wealth and learning, in arts and arms. Your Lordship knows that I neither am, nor affect to be thought, a Bigot; and that I abominate Licentiousness as much as I venerate Liberty. But let no body imagine that we Free-thinkers (whom some of narrow views ignorantly confound with thoughtless Libertines) should be less zealous or courageous, than the most wholesale believer or the precisest professor of 'em all, against the return of Popery under whatever denomination. The converts in King JAMES's time were most of 'em Ecclesiastics or their Lay-bigotted Pupils, and not one of 'em a Free-thinker, no nor a Dissenter: nor are the Free-thinkers (for which glorious name they are oblig'd to their enemies) so easily put off with words as some others, since there may very well be such a thing as Protestant Popery; for Popery is in reality nothing else, but *the Clergy's assuming a right to think for the Laity*, from which not only follows the leading or driving of them at their pleasure, but every thing imaginable the Priests shall find conducing to their peculiar profit or authority. English Catholic shocks common
sense

ſenſe, as much as Roman Catholic. You may play your Priests then (if that be all?) juſt as you pleaſe againſt one another, I ſhall cheerfully go on to ſerve your Lordſhip for the Proteſtant cauſe in general, which, even in the leaſt reform'd parts of it, muſt be acknowledged to be a noble ſtruggle for Liberty, and a mighty ſtep towards the ruin of ſpiritual Tyranny.

Having expreſſed my ſelf ſo copiouſly, MY LORD, upon Liberty and Toleration, I may be the ſhorter upon our third principle of the Houſe of Hanover, from which the other two are inſeparable. Liberty and Property, Toleration and Union, have occaſion'd that Succeſſion. On theſe it is founded, by theſe it muſt be maintain'd againſt all oppoſition. And, as a ſure earneſt of a glorious future proſpect, theſe are the domeſtic hereditary principles of that Houſe: for, whatever our fools or knaves may prate of arbitrary Power there, the inhabitants are Syncretiſts by profeſſion (that is German Occaſional Conformiſts) and never were there Subjects on earth better uſed, or more content; the Barons having an appeal ~~from~~ the Prince to a higher Court, tho' they never have occaſion given them to make uſe of this right. Your Lordſhip appeared for this cauſe as early as any, and if to the ſame you are not ſtill as firm as any, what a wretched Politician am I? how greatly miſled my ſelf? and how great a miſleader of others,

especially of that illustrious Family? This, I cannot in duty forbear telling you, is the place in which your enemies now attack you with their utmost vigor, and, from certain odd circumstances, they persist in their accusation with the most sanguine hopes of success. It is here therefore that I daily exert my greatest efforts in your defence, and where I have a better right to be credited than any of your new friends. To this House, in a word, I am wholly devoted out of inclination and principle. I have no other interest than this, which I take to be the common interest of us all. Tho' changing of sides is become so fashionable a thing, yet neither fear nor favor, no advantage or temptation, tho' ever so considerable, not the byass of acquaintance, nor even the force of friendship, can take me off (as the phrase is) from this principle of the Hanover Succession, where I have from the beginning fixt my rest: and therefore I cannot but be honestly of the mind, that I ought to be more trusted and more encouraged, than such as have been ever indifferent or ever enemies to it. There's a long list of those I mean, and which I am ready to produce upon occasion. I do therefore most earnestly wish, that all ugly appearances (whereof I have so frequently complain'd in other *Memorials*) were quite taken away, and that a better understanding were cultivated with the most discerning Court in Europe. Your Lordship will find by experience that I don't flatter.

Since

Since then, MY LORD, the truth of the matter is, that I have been for many years, both at home and abroad, your unwavering friend and adherent; one, for whom you have express'd the greatest kindness; one, to whom, since your late advancement, you have made repeated promises of the continuance of your protection; and one, who on many accounts may be more serviceable to you for the future than ever before: I cannot, I say, from all these considerations, but, in the nature of a lover, complain of your present neglect, and be solicitous for your future care. There being none but your self (which may never happen!) capable to convince me that we are not embark'd in the same bottom, have I not some reason to expect good entertainment in the ship, where I have not been altogether idle? especially, when I neither take upon me to control the officers, nor to claim any share in the government. As to the observations I did propose to make, I fancy those I actually presented, are sufficient to answer for those I shou'd have made, had I receiv'd befitting encouragement. I appeal particularly to my early application about the pretended West-Meath Plot, and the too real affair of the Scots-Medal; both which (from wrong steps taken against my advice at first) have since occasion'd so much noise, and, if I be not mistaken, they'll occasion much greater yet, tho' seemingly now forgot. No body is punish'd at all that li-

bels

bels the succession, tho' I have shewn such libels to be numerous, and openly sold. We'll see what the house does with CR ** L: yet one wou'd think that certain others never expected those to succeed, against whose sentiments they act in so desperate a manner. But, in plain truth, what shall we say after the pardoning of some from the gallows, whose execution might be a service to the Ministers as well as to the Nation? after the not punishing of one mortal for the late Invasion, a mercy not to be parallel'd in all history? and after the dismissing of those that were taken in the fact on such easy bail? The advancement of certain persons in Scotland, seems prodigious unaccountable to the irreconcilable enemies of Popery and the Pretender. I shall not say however that this is inconsistent with her Majesty's Speech, at the opening of the present Parliament (where being hearty *for the House of Hanover* is made by her an exprest qualification for preferment) because in the first speech she ever made in Parliament, she bids the nation expect *to find her always a strict and religious observer of her word*. Nor must your Lordship take ill what is meant so well, if I prophecy that two incendiaries (2) in Ireland, if not timely prevented, will occasion you many a heart-ake: seeing the honest people of England now do make the same inferences from the proceedings about Corporations in Ireland,

(2) P *** and H ***.

land, that they did from the Declarations for Indulgence in Scotland, and from the Quo Warranto's and Regulators in England, in King JAMES's time. *Verbum sapienti*: for surely the reigns of King CHARLES and King JAMES should be no patterns to men of revolution principles; by which I mean those that acted in the Revolution, and that approv'd of it. Nor are many less alarm'd at the late unprotestant and unpolitick Addreses of certain Irish Bishops, and their noble pupils in leading-strings. I hope, during the power of such a father's son, the honest Northern Dissenters may not be so barbarously us'd with relation to the pension of their Ministers, as a reward (or shall I say a punishment?) for securing London-Derry, and preventing thereby a descent into Great Britain of a very dubious issue. Must reprisals be thus taken upon them, for the villanous impostor LANGTON's being struck off the Establishment? I further hope, that you'll keep some body from meddling a third time in that Kingdom with matters above his sphere.

But I am launch'd perhaps too far, where my advice is not ask'd: and I am afraid by this time, Your Lordship may imagine I would give my self airs of importance. I appeal to your own experience, whether of all that transact any thing with you, I be not the farthest from this sort of vanity? Neither am I a medler or busy body, beyond what justly comes to the share of every free subject.

subject. Have I ever obtruded on Your Lordship's privacies? or importun'd you to tell me, what you did not think fit to impart of your own accord? for as to the affairs of the present conjuncture, I content my self with knowing as much of 'em, as any man in the world that is not in the secret, of which I have given, where it was necessary, a most authentic demonstration; and even to your self, when, in my last *Memorial*, I declar'd against any Peace at all at this time, as believing it must be such a peace, as will not only render useless all her Majesty's triumphs, fully the honor of the nation, betray our best and firmest allies, but effectually ruin theirs, and ours, and the liberties of all Europe, besides the manifest breaches of word and faith in persons, whose character ought not to be lightly prostituted. I wish from my soul, inconsiderable as I am, that you had vouchsaf'd to ask me a few questions, with regard to some particulars.

As for writing in defence of your person or politics (the neglect of which was lately objected to me, by one of your relations) how cou'd I possibly divine, without your express instructions, that I shou'd not be all the while unskillfully thwarting your designs? Far from being ambitious of recommending your Schemes to the publick, I wou'd gladly have employ'd my pen to convince the world, that it was neither by your Lordship's
 privacy

privity nor approbation (as your enemies give out) that our faithful Allies, especially the Dutch, have been treated of late, in a manner too injurious and scurrilous to be permitted even towards declar'd enemies, in any civiliz'd country. Posterity will be ashamed, when they read such infamous pieces. With what alacrity should I obey, were I authoriz'd to shew how the not calling of the wretched ABEL ROPER to account for his treasonable paragraph against the Succession, and his abominable usage of all men of worth, abroad and at home (not to forget the Author of *the good old cause*, of the *Oath to an Invader*, the *Examiner*, and such other open opposers of the Protestant Line;) how, I say, this unexempl'd lenity towards such criminals, is consistent with our care and concern for the House of Hannover, and for the Liberties that have cost so much blood and treasure to secure; for, believe me or not, I had rather be enabl'd to shew the true reasons, than to receive a bank-bill of a thousand pounds. My best apology for the length of this Letter, MY LORD, is that the nature of the thing requir'd it. I have before made use in it of the simile of a Lover, and, as such indeed, I thought fit once for all to come to a thorow explanation: looking upon uncertainty as one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall me, and being resolv'd, if my affection be not kill'd by your unkindness (I mean to your self as well as to me) to become
indisso-

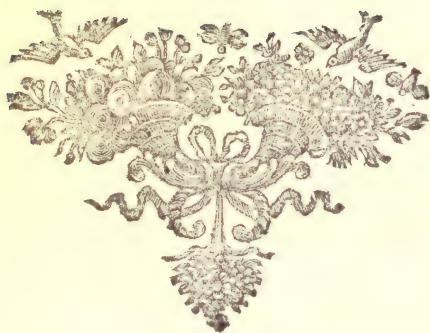
indissolubly yours; for which the only secret is, that you do inseparably become your Country's. I am with the same dutifulness, zeal, and respect as ever,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

most faithful, obedient,

and devoted Servant.





A

MEMORIAL

Presented to a

MINISTER OF STATE,

*Soon after his Majesty King GEORGE'S
accession to the Crown.*



THE chief heads of this Memorial shall be the Clergy and the Laity. And as for the first of these, I take it for granted, as a thing of publick notoriety, that but too many of the Clergy of England have no regard for any thing but profit and power; that the more you enrich or advance them, the more haughty and mischievous they will be; not valuing any sort of Religion or Virtue, further than

than it merely serves their interest. This, you'll say, ought not to be so, to which I add, that 'tis pity it should be so. But neither of us can deny the fact: and I conceive the only way to manage those men, so that they may neither hamper the Government nor disturb the Peace of the People (by their intrigues and importunities with relation to the first; or their imposing upon and gaining the money of the last, by wheedling, and especially by practising upon sick people) is to make the statute of Mortmain in force as formerly. Their revenues are sufficient, and much more than are enjoy'd by any secular Priests in the world. Nay, had many of them less, their cures would be better taken care of: and it is apparent that nothing ever did or can keep them quiet, but a strict and steady hand over them. I mean, that they be not suffer'd (much less encourag'd) to meddle with politicks or civil affairs; but that they be strictly kept to their spiritual office, as set forth in a Sermon preach'd by the late Archbishop of York. They must be discountenanc'd in their rampant practices, and those be never preferr'd who transgress in the above-mentioned particulars. Thus the thing may be easiest affected, by a good Magistracy in every County: for these I am speaking of, are meanly born and bred, ignorant for the greatest part, and made equally proud and insolent at the Universities. Therefore when they perceive the civil Government re-

folv'd and steddy, they will court and comply with the Magistrates; being naturally fearful, and perpetually undermining each other: whereas the more the Magistrate gives way to them, the more they'll grow upon him. It is self-evident, that their great power and interest is principally deriv'd (not from the populace) but from those of the Nobility and Gentry, who govern the people, and who are themselves govern'd by these Priests. When very young they are commonly their Schoolmasters, and always their Tutors at the Universities; whereby they cannot only lead them all their lives in matters above their reach, but even fright and deceive them as they please; governing their persons, families, estates and interest. A remedy therefore should be found out for a better Education and better Instructions at our Universities. Among other methods, I fancy if the Fellows and Masters of Arts in all the Colleges were not oblig'd to go into Orders, that it would go a good way towards the cure. But of this more particularly hereafter.

Now as to the Laity, they are divided into Papists, Tories, Whigs, and Trimmers. The first of these, if consistent with the flourishing condition of any civil Government, is not I am sure with a Protestant one: because their Religion not only obliges them to own a foreign Superior, to whom they yield a submission incompatible with their Allegiance

to their natural Sovereign; but to break all faith, morality, and humanity with those which the Pope shall denuonce to be Hereticks, in order to advance their own Doctrines, all calculated for the interest of that damnable, bloody, and destructive Faction they call the Church. These men ought to be crush'd and subdu'd to the utmost (not for mere opinions in Religion, which every man ought to enjoy) but as they are constantly endeavouring, with all possible industry and artifice, to destroy all other Religions, to subvert Liberty and Property, the better to introduce their own Superstition. The Pope and his Clergy abroad (who formerly possess the best part of this rich and happy Island) leave no stone unturn'd to regain those powers and riches they formerly had. To this end they send over their best heads, generally natives of this Kingdom, to make converts directly; and indirectly, under the notion of zealous churchmen, to increase mystery, superstition, and priestly power, to divide the establish'd Church, to encrease the Sectaries, to corrupt the Universities, to raise antipathies among the People by party-names and distinctions; to bribe, (in a word) to lie, defame, and murther, or if there be any other villany more heinous than these. On such accounts no proceeding can be thought too severe, since this evil is become hard to suppress, or indeed to be tolerably kept under, by reason of the byass the House of the STUARTS has had all along
in

in favour of Popery, and the encouragement it has constantly receiv'd, tho' in a more covert manner, from the aspiring or the ignorant part of the Church of England Clergy. King GEORGE, on the contrary, will not only more effectually secure himself at home, and become prodigious popular, by appearing (as he is) a thorough Protestant, as having the Reform'd Interest much at heart; but thus acquire authority, credit, and confidence abroad, as the real Head of the Protestant Religion every where, and in every circumstance.

To proceed from the Papist to the Tories, these are of two sorts. The first are Non-jurors, perfect Rosicrucians in Government, a stupid, illiterate, stubborn, positive, noisy and impudent Generation; yet not very dangerous, so long as they have ingenuity enough to continue their scruples about the Oaths: but once they get the better of their consciences in this respect (which, a few silly creatures excepted, they generally do) then no sort of men are more clamorous about the Church, or more importunate for Places. These ought not only to be kept under, and discouraged; but also to be ridicul'd and made contemptible both in print and conversation: for they are never to be chang'd, and consequently never to be trusted; as being incapable of reason, and insensible of favours. Besides that it is an establish'd

maxim with them, to swear and creep into places, the better to serve their young Master, as these Wittals term the Pretender. The second sort of Tories are, 'tis true, men so devoted to the Church of England, that they are implacable towards all other opinions, tho' ever so little differing in form or substance from their own; but yet they are neither so furious, senseless, or wicked as the first: for they wou'd not give up their own Property or the Liberty of Europe, they wou'd not willingly lose our Trade or aggrandize France to the ruin of their native Country; and they are withal good friends to the Protestant Line, and as averse as any to a Popish Successor. These men therefore ought to be mildly treated, and those of 'em to be prefer'd to Places, who have virtue and merit; which are the best qualifications in all kinds of men, for Magistracy and offices. This impartiality will highly please the People, leave the Tories in hope, even the worst of them, and give no ground for the clamours of any Party.

The Whigs (I mean those who practise what they profess) are virtuous, wise, and industrious Church of England men; yet brotherly indulgent towards other Protestants, and all for a general Naturalization. To these ought to be added the Sectaries, who heartily join with them on one common bottom, against Popery and Slavery either in Church or State. The Whigs of all denominations

nominations (whatever may be their failings or differences in other respects) are immovably staunch for Liberty civil and religious, for Trade and the Balance of Europe, in which things I take the true interest of Britain to consist. So far are they from being against Kingship (as their enemies foolishly calumniate them) that they are to a man most zealous for the Act of Succession, particularly faithful to King GEORGE (whom they admire almost to adoration) absolutely determin'd to support his progeny, and such, in short, as may be depended upon in all the particulars aforesaid. I still mean those that are true to their principles, such as have kept their integrity in times of danger, that have not chang'd for interest or favour, and who are known (as all men are best so) by their actions. These are the men who ought to fill all posts of trust in his Majesty's service, both at home, and in his Embassies abroad: giving some places of honor, and of profit also, to such Tories as are to be wean'd off from their Party, or who are to keep them in hope and dependance.

The Trimmers are timorous pusillanimous knaves, who (forsooth) would not provoke any party, but smile upon all, and ever leaning towards the prevailing side, or hovering between both till they see who gets the better. I conceive no other use ought to be made of these men, but as tools to serve the

present demands ; but such time-servers are never to be confided with posts of trust, nor with any such great places, that will procure them credit and power, both which they will be as ready to employ against as for the King, according to the influence their fears or their avarice may have upon them in a perilous conjuncture.

If this be the true state of our case, the next enquiry must be after a proper cure ; which that we may the more certainly discover, we ought to lay down such principles, as will support all we shall build upon them in the sequel of this Discourse. There is no question to be made, but that mankind by nature is of the sociable species of animals, herding together in communities for their common safety ; and that they quarrel among themselves, or oppress each other, just upon the same motives and topicks with other animals : such as food, venery, sickness, old-age, and want of understanding ; but to a far higher degree by the use of speech, and especially of hands, which manage weapons to their own destruction, as well as that of their fellow-creatures. I conceive therefore, that true Virtue, Religion, and understanding, ought to provide against these evils of Society, by good Education and wholesome Laws, whereby sufficient food may be provided without violence, venery without force, the sick and aged reliev'd, and madmen and idiots taken care of.

The

The rules for Virtue and Religion ought to be plain and simple, or (as we commonly speak) the naked truth, unchangeable, void of craft, of gain, or of power; being part of the civil government, and wholly depending upon the same. The Clergy shou'd teach those rules, and deliver those precepts without adding, diminishing, glossing, or commenting; which is the ready way to make Humanity shine, Justice flourish, and Communities happy. But since England is not what we cou'd wish it, we must endeavour to alter and amend by degrees, as far as practicable: and I think it very reasonable, that present care shou'd be taken, to prevent the Clergy meddling with Politicks in their pulpits or elsewhere.

This evil may in a great measure be cur'd by the King, and by the Diocesans proceeding according to his Injunctions, both sending such orders to the inferior Clergy, as shall seem most convenient; the King acting as Head of the Church, and the Bishops as Governours of their several Diocesses under him. They must be strictly kept to that Law and Canon already in force, viz. that no persons be admitted to take Orders, but such as have a title, or are truly presented to livings; nor that they be permitted to act or concern themselves in any civil employment whatsoever.

Great care should be taken to reform the Universities, which, if settl'd on the foot of Virtue, wou'd in twenty years bring up a generation, that shou'd retrieve the worth, understanding, industry, and honor of the nation, now so low, and almost destroy'd by a late set of men, who were there viciously and ignorantly educated. Smiles and frowns will go a great way at the University, preferring one before another, as they excell in probity and proper endowments. Other methods will have their due effects, as obliging the Tutors to read Lectures to their Pupils in a regular manner; but especially encouraging such Tutors, as teach useful knowledge: restraining them from dabling in Politicks, and that youth be not permitted to be out of their Colleges, but at certain hours, without the leave of their Tutors; nor to frequent publick houses, but scone'd when found there at any time of the day: that common fire-rooms be provided in all Colleges, and that several superstitious customs be abolish'd, with that servile one of Scholars capping Fellows, Masters of Arts or such others, any more than they do other men in other places: that prizes be given by the King to such as excell in Literature, or even in any exercises relating to Trade, no less than in Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Agriculture, Navigation, Planting, Fishery, Mineing, and so on.

As to particular Professions, care should be taken, that no persons be prefer'd but such as are bred up to that same way, or are well skill'd therein; but by no means to give the same person two employments in different professions; I mean, that Lawyers be kept to affairs of justice solely, Physicians to take care of health, Soldiers for offence or defence; as Gentlemen to the Belles Lettres, to travel, to the court, to embassies, and to country-offices: the Merchants to trade, the Citizens to their various crafts, the Shop-keepers to diligence in retail and the plain rules of buying and selling, Farmers to the management of their lands, and Labourers to industry, sobriety, cheap diet and cloathing. In short, not to encourage them to entrench upon or intermix with each other, in any thing different from that which they were severally bred; unless in case of some extraordinary genius and propensity. This will quiet and please vast numbers of people.

Also it will be granted (I suppose) at first sight, that a prudent Economy shou'd be us'd in disposing of Places, since for any one place there are so many Candidates. No person therefore should have pluralities. Rich men shou'd be rewarded by titles or places of Honor: middling men shou'd be rais'd purely on the score of their Merit: and poor men for industry, honesty, and other fitting qualifications. A special regard ought to be

I

had

had to the various desires and inclinations of men: for a small thing rightly apply'd, may please more than one of twenty times the value. But men extremely profuse or covetous, ought not to be prefer'd at all, these extremes making them mercenary, cowardly, and perfidious.

Education is of the last consequence, and care shou'd not only be taken to adapt the professions to the genius or inclinations of the youth; but also to encrease the numbers of each profession, as the emergencies of State may require. And I think nothing will prove more pernicious to the Publick than the new erections of Charity Schools, where the poor Children are bred up all pen-men (forsooth) and qualify'd for such employments where they are not wanting, but which are on the contrary more than overstock'd. This causes a prodigious drain from the Manufacturers and Labourers, who are observ'd to grow much scarcer since this mischievous invention, and which of course encreases the price of man's labour, makes commodities be wrought worse, and sent dearer to the market. It does further give the greatest encouragement to idleness, the poor folks using all means and interest to educate their Children book-learned and Schollards; which is a most inconceivable damage to the Nation: as to this same Nation, I take the great number of Country Latin Schools to be a real loss
1
and

and injury, since four or five years of their childrens labor are lost and mispent, by most that can pay a small matter for their teaching ; tho' not one in five hundred makes any future use of it to their advantage, but rather to their ruin, and so much of their best time irrecoverably lost from learning other matters, infinitely more servicable to themselves and the Publick. This same Latin-mongering spoils their hand-writing, figuring, and true English, the only accomplishments requisite for the Populace.

Another matter highly injurious to the Publick, as it particularly reflects on the Prince, is that the Discipline of the Army should be so neglected as it is in England, that commands shou'd be dispos'd of for money, not merit ; that false musters and unfit men should be conniv'd at ; that advantage should be taken of the Soldiers cloathing and subsistence ; that they are not kept to easy labour for the publick good in time of Peace, and care taken to employ them when disbanded. But the most shameful evil is, the Collonels, and others making their children of two or three years old, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns. I have been credibly inform'd that girls have been list'd officers, nay, that children unborn were so. Nothing can be a greater cheat, nor more disgusting to all sorts of people, than to see this practice ; and to pay the money (which some want for necessities) to uphold this wicked

wickedness: nor is it to be doubted but our good and wise King will forthwith redress this evil, for the fact is undoubtedly true; besides that, he will have the more places to dispose of, to men devoted to his service, and greater numbers of officers and effective men to serve in his wars. Care should also be taken, that the Soldiers in their quarters should not meddle with the Magistracy, nor invade any man's property; that they be kept to virtue and morals, and not to be suffer'd to destroy the Game, which is a great offence to the Country Gentlemen, tho' they even give their consent to the officers.

England is now so vicious and wicked, that it is of absolute necessity to put the several Laws strictly in execution, the doing of which tho' a seeming severity, yet is real charity: and no people will ever obey a Government that do not pay a ready obedience to the Laws. The declaration of pardoning none, will save the blood and punishment of thousands. Magistrates, in a word, must be oblig'd to do their duties, whereas they are at this time so complying, and so negligent to the last degree, that vice has got the better of almost all of them. Riots therefore, and Factions, and Tumults, particularly the disturbers of the Worship of such as are tolerated by law to exercise their Religion, shou'd be as severely punish'd as the law allows, and the abettors of such disturbers of the Peace

remarkably

Remarkably discourag'd: for in a good Government, all men ought to have free liberty to speak and write upon any subject whatsoever, not inconsistent with virtue, morality, or the civil administration.

It's highly necessary, that the Revenue and publick Money be put into a good method and frugal management, both as to the receipts and issues, as well as in all parts of the application to proper uses; correcting the sinister practices of under-officers, and preventing the lavishing of great sums by bribery, or trades-men's cheating and omissions, the slow execution of business both civil and military, especially going to market upon tick, the advancing of money upon loans or interest, and using of extortion in returns. Times ought to be set for undertakers, and no great contracts made privately or underhand, but publish'd in the Gazette, and by other proper methods, to the view and consideration of all the world. But I am grown less solicitous about this most essential article, since his Majesty has shewn his wisdom, by putting the Earl of HALIFAX at the head of the Treasury.

There's nothing the Nation labours so much under at present, as the heavy load of publick Debts (tho' numbers of particular men be rich and opulent) and therefore its hop'd his Majesty will apply his great wisdom to this
work;

work; and manage his own Revenue so well, as to spare (if possible) some part of it to the publick-service. This will gain him millions in time, and endear him to the People above all things: for nothing can please them so much after their late great payments, as some such act, tho' a small insignificant matter. What accession of power and her people's love, did Queen ELIZABETH acquire by returning some taxes, for which there appear'd no occasion? and by her frugal management of the purse, were not all the purses of the Nation at her devotion? Nor, give me leave to say it, will any thing more displease the people at this juncture, than the asking of an additional Revenue, as some out of officiousness shew themselves ready to offer, and others on purpose to make his Majesty odious, to entangle his affairs, and that the Hanover Succession may seem a national burthen: whereas it's humbly conceiv'd, that the present Revenue will answer all the demands of the Royal Family, till the necessity of publick affairs requires the raising of more money.

But that these main points, and capital articles, may not put smaller matters out of our memory, which yet deserve our care, I am of opinion that Gypsies, Vagabonds, and Beggarly Strangers, ought to be taken up and severely handl'd, if they cannot give a good account of themselves: for they com-
monly

monly disperse lyes and scandal, they teach the people tricks and knavish shifts, they are examples of idleness and thieving, and have an opportunity (which I wou'd have understood likewise of Hawkers and Pedlars) to carry about any treasonable design, correspondence, or libels, on which they may be put by crafty, discontented, or ill-affected persons; who rather than fail of their purpose, will gain 'em with money.

The best way to prevent this, and many the like mischiefs, is to have Gentlemen of virtue, understanding, and industry made Magistrates; men who know their business, and that will be sure to execute the Laws; men that will be zealous to retrieve the morals and manners of the people, who are dissolute and vicious to the highest degree. But no Clergymen (as I said more than once before) ought to be in the civil Magistracy, and as few Lawyers, at least Attorneys and Petty-foggers, as may be. And if any of these Magistrates be remiss and negligent, or shew others the worst example by transgressing the Laws in their own persons, let such be immediately turn'd out, and others put in their room without favour or affection. I had like to forget that all Fees ought to be ascertain'd by Act of Parliament, with a great penalty on those that will presume to take more.

The

The present practice of the Courts of Law is extremely corrupt, dilatory, and expensive; the Counsel abominably mercenary, and guilty of extravagant extortion in their fees; the Attorneys are arbitrary in their bills, treacherous to their clients, the greatest encouragers of cheats and falsehoods, ay and of perjury too; commonly beggars, poysoning the peoples morals, ever setting 'em together by the ears, and awing them to that degree, that they perpetually live in fear, being little better than their slaves: so that the Law, which was specially ordain'd for the relief of the poor and ignorant, is become their highest bane and oppression.

I further presume to hint whether (now that we have got a King who delights in hunting, the princely exercise of his Saxon Ancestors) it may not be of service, to enforce the Laws against Poachers, especially as to shooting. These being very numerous, and encreasing every day, the mischief is not only the almost intire destruction of the Game, even in his Majesty's forests; but it makes the common people negligent of their callings, idle, lewd, insolent, and beggarly. To prevent these or worse effects, care should be taken to revive and encourage by prizes or otherwise, such other Sports and Pastimes as were anciently in use for the publick exercise of the people; such as Wrestling, Cudgel-play-
ing,

ing, throwing the barr, and the like recreations serving to increase strength and agility of body, no less than to procure or to preserve health. Among others it is more to be desir'd than hop'd (considering our more than Jewish superstition) that there shou'd be a reasonable exercise of the Militia after evening service on Sundays, particularly in summer, as it is practis'd in some Protestant countries abroad; which wou'd be useful to the State, and pleasing to the People: provided always, that their fire-arms be kept in a room for that purpose, excepting only when they are thus to be employ'd.

But why shou'd I longer insist on these particulars, when I consider that never before did Britain possess a King endu'd with so many glorious qualities; as true piety, fortitude, temperance, prudence, justice, knowledge, industry, frugality, and every other virtue, all supported by an active and even temper, by uninterrupted health and application: so that (thanks be to heaven) we may all rest assur'd that this greatest and best of Princes will encourage virtue and truth, that he will employ and countenance such men as will in time (under his benign influence) make these Islands the most happy, flourishing and potent Empire of the whole world; especially, by the destruction of Superstition and Vice, the highest and most glorious conquest:



A
M E M O R I A L
Concerning the
S T A T E O F A F F A I R S
I N
E N G L A N D

*In the latter part of the Year 1714. **



THE happiness of the Nation, and the wellfare of Europe, as well as his Majesty's quiet, does in a great measure depend upon the conduct that is to be observ'd in the present juncture; and nothing but a Prince of so great wisdom, experience, and steadiness

* This Memorial was not drawn up by Mr. TOLAND, but found among his Papers; and therefore properly belongs to the *Appendix*: but it was thought fit to insert it here, as relating to the same subject with the foregoing Piece.

ness can extricate us out of our present difficulties.

That the State of Affairs, upon his Majesty's coming to the Crown, may be the better understood, it's necessary that some short account should be given of the two Parties which so unhappily divide the Nation, their interest, views, and designs.

It's notorious that a great many of the Clergy in Queen ELIZABETH's reign came very unwillingly into the Reformation ; and that it cut them to the heart to part with the gainful Doctrines of Popery : the Pope's Supremacy they were willing to quit, but 'twas in hopes of gaining that Supremacy to themselves.

These men, who saw how fond JAMES I. was of arbitrary power, thought they had no way of making themselves absolute in ecclesiastical matters, but by allowing him to be so in temporal : and in order to it, they preached up the Divine Right of Kings, and that Obedience was due to them in all things, tho' never so contrary to the Law of the Land, if not contrary to the Law of God ; and that Subjects on pain of damnation were obliged never to resist, tho' to save their Liberties and Lives, and that the descent of the Crown was unalterable by any human Laws.

These Doctrines did not spread much during King JAMES's reign, and serv'd only to create jealousies in the minds of his People, which had very fatal effects in the reign of his Son, who was intirely govern'd by these principles, and the party which embrac'd them, who went under the name of *Cavaliers*, as those that opposed them did under that of *Round-heads*.

CHARLES II. prefer'd none in Church or State, but who embrac'd those arbitrary principles; and the Universities made it their business to instill them into the youth: and then it was, that the parties were distinguished by the names of *Whig* and *Tory*; the latter joining with the King, hindred the passing a Law for excluding the Duke of York from the Crown, contrary to the bent of the generality of the Nation, who then dreaded nothing so much as a Popish Successor.

JAMES II. when he came to the crown, was so weak as to imagine the Clergy and Tories wou'd be tied down by their own Doctrines; and therefore courted the Dissenters, sufficiently exasperated against the Church by a long and severe persecution: this made the Church quickly renounce their former doctrines of Non-resistance, &c. and promise the Dissenters (who saw what King JAMES meant

meant by designing to divide the Protestants) to treat them for the future as their brethren ; but when they had opportunity of doing it, then they shew'd that they thought Faith was no more to be kept with Schismaticks, than the Papists do with Hereticks. And when the Parliament, in spite of all their opposition, pass'd the Toleration Act, they revived their old principles, and ever since taught those Doctrines in the Universities, by which means most of the Gentry have been poisoned: whereas if King WILLIAM had reform'd the Universities, and employ'd none but men of revolution principles, Torism had been rooted out.

He, or rather his Minister, to whom he weakly intrusted the whole administration, industriously nurs'd up the Parties, which being pretty equal, the Court cou'd turn the ballance on what side they pleas'd. This oblig'd the Party they headed to come into their measures ; since otherwise they saw they must be oblig'd to give up their preferments and pensions to the other party. It was this, and not any disaffection, which made the Whigs act so scandalous a part with relation to the coming over of one of the illustrious House of Hanover. They had no other way to preserve their leaders, and consequently themselves, in their posts ; and that the Tories put these difficulties on them, not with any design to serve the House of

Hanover, their conduct ever since has made very plain.

This dextrous management of the Parties brought things to that pass, that neither of them scrupl'd at any thing that wou'd serve their own side; and they seldom consider'd whether a man was rightly elected, but whether he was of the right side: and if one party propos'd any thing which was for the publick good, the other party, for that only reason, wou'd oppose it. And as one party was for humbling of France, supporting of the Allies, preserving the Toleration, hindring the Clergy from assuming more power than the constitution allow'd them; the other party (tho' their principles did not influence them) wou'd in opposition have taken the contrary side, by being in the interest of France, and the Pretender, and favouring the Papists both at home and abroad, and for persecuting the Dissenters.

And the Tories, tho' they were frequently count'd by King WILLIAM, yet he cou'd never make them really his friends, or to join with the Whigs in the common interest. When they were out of favour, they clog'd the wheels of affairs, by providing deficient Funds, &c; and when employ'd, they favour'd as much as they durst the designs of France: and King WILLIAM being in their hands, when the Spanish King died, they made him
own

own the Duke of Anjou, and sit still till the French were possess'd of the Spanish Monarchies; and acted such a part, that the King at last cou'd not avoid seeing that all his caresses were in vain, and that his own, and the Nation's safety, required the removing them from all places of trust, or profit. And how they acted since, I need no more mention, than how they acted during CHARLES II. reign.

Though the greatest part of the Gentry, by reason of their University Education, have been debauch'd into anti-revolution Principles; yet the Populace, who had no such education, and especially the better sort of them, in whom lies the greatest part of the riches of the Nation, and who have votes in choosing Parliament-men, were for the most part true to the principles of the Revolution, and to the common Protestant interest; and when we had any tolerable Parliaments, it was owing to the little interest the Clergy and Gentry had then over them.

But these well meaning men were at last imposed on by the perpetual noise the Clergy made about *the Danger of the Church*, and by being persuaded by the Tories, that the Whigs, for the sake of their private interest, wou'd never put an end to the War; which, they said, had given them an opportunity of cheating the Nation of more than thirty

millions; but that if they wou'd be so much in their own interest, as to vote for the Tories, they wou'd force the Whigs to refund, and ease them of all their Taxes, and give them a glorious Peace, and a most flourishing Trade. These, and such like stories, made them desert their old friends, and vote for the Tories.

The High-Church Clergy, who since SACHEVERELL'S Trial imagine they can rule the People as they please, will rather than endure a Whig Ministry have recourse to their usual arts, and cry out as much as ever of the Danger of the Church, in order to make the People choose such a Parliament as they hope will distress the King, and force him to put the administration into Tory hands.

And it can't be expected but that the Tories, who are now such a majority in Parliament, will do their utmost to be chosen again; and for which now they are in the Country making their utmost efforts, while the Whigs stay in Town, soliciting for places.

And the late Ministry, who know an honest Parliament must call them to account, are oblig'd to be at all possible expence to get one for their turn.

And

And considering all the French King's hopes now depend on such a Parliament, it is to be presum'd, that French Money will not be wanting to bribe the electors.

His Majesty's reputation abroad, his quiet at home, and the interest of Europe, depending in a great measure upon the temper of the next Parliament, all efforts ought to be made for obtaining a good Parliament.

And most of the better sort of People, who now feel the effects of a bad Peace, and plainly see that they were grossly deluded by the Tories, and that they neither made out any one charge against the Whigs, or perform'd the least tittle of all their promises, may easily be brought over to join again with the Whigs, especially if due care be taken to have them rightly inform'd of all their late transactions, and Pamphlets writ to that purpose be well dispers'd.

The late Ministry, knowing how much it was for their interest, bribed those who cry'd Pamphlets and Papers about the streets, to cry none but those of their side; and were at no small expence to disperse them into every corner of the Kingdom; and since the paper war is like to continue, the Government shou'd not scruple some small expence, to have that which is writ in its defence as effectually dispers'd.

Nothing

Nothing would have a greater influence over the People, than if the King in his declaration for dissolving of the Parliament express himself fully as to the Danger the nation was in, both as to their religious and civil Rights. This wou'd make them perceive, that those who cry'd out most of the danger of the Church, were the only persons that brought the Church in danger.

It will be highly convenient that one, if not of the chief Traytors, yet of their most criminal Instruments, shou'd be convicted before the choosing of a new Parliament; for then the Tories cou'd not take the advantage of the King's peaceably coming to the Crown, to deny all that was acted in favour of France, the Pretender, and Popery, nor ask why the Whigs have so little regard to the welfare of their country, as not to punish, when it is in their power, at least some one of the notorious Conspirators: and I can't think that any one will oppose this proceeding, except he has been tampering with France himself.

That the eyes of the People begin to be open it's evident from the late election in the City, where a Whig Sheriff carry'd it by a majority of more than a thousand: and because there can be no doubt, but that they will carry the election for Parliament men in the City, by at least as great a number,
it

it ought to be so contriv'd, since other Corporations are influenc'd by the example of London, that the first choice of Parliament men shou'd be made there.

And since there is a division among the Tories, and some of them have distinguish'd themselves from the Jacobites, by several Votes in favour of the House of Hanover, and in being against that destructive treaty with France; there can be no reason, why they ought not to enjoy his Majesty's favour; provided in the elections they will oppose the Jacobite Tories, and in Parliament come into proper measures for punishing the betrayers of their country. This method will very much increase the number of his Majesty's friends, and enlarge the true British interest.

As for those, who according to their usual custom, hope by a majority in Parliament to force the King to discharge his faithful servants, and to employ none but themselves, they are his worst enemies; especially the Leaders amongst them, who slight his Majesty's favour, and wou'd not accept the most beneficial employs, if not at the head of their own party; many of which Party, tho' prefer'd by or got into the Parliament by means of the late Treasurer, yet because he (tho' as black as any other) wou'd not take such hasty unadvis'd steps in favour of the Pretender,

as a late Secretary, they went over to him as acting more agreeable to their violent tempers.

And if there be any great men about the King, who either recommend Jacobite Tories, or make an interest for them in elections, it's plain they intend not his Majesty's service, but design upon the first opportunity to set themselves at the head of the Tory party.

In order therefore to the getting of an honest Parliament, it's necessary since the late Ministry pick'd out the most violent Jacobites for Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, and Magistrates, that they should be chang'd, and that such Whigs or Hanoverian Tories as are men of probity and courage, and of the best estates, shou'd be put into their places. In order to this, his Majesty ought to have a list of the best men in every county ; and since the Lord Lieutenants, and other great men, will in their choice have more regard to their own creatures than his Majesty's service, it might be proper that those they recommend, be consider'd by some private disinterested persons.

The Collectors of the Duties, especially of the Excise, who can influence the Ale-house-keepers as they please, and who being a set of profligate men, have almost as much debauch'd the People, as the Clergy have the Gentry,

Gentry, ought to be chang'd, or oblig'd on loss of their places in the elections, to do their utmost for his Majesty's service.

If these and all other methods whatsoever, which are necessary for procuring a new Parliament, should be strictly observ'd, yet the Tories can have no manner of reason to complain, since they destroy'd the freedom of elections by mobbing the electors, and by bribing the returning officers, and by using all other indirect methods: and considering the Court may be secure almost to a man of the members from Scotland, and there are near one hundred and fifty, who by reason of their places depend on the Court, there can be no danger, if vigorous methods are taken, of not carrying a majority.

When the Clergy see a steady conduct observ'd by the Government, and that they have no way of getting preferments but by coming into its measures, they, who mean nothing by Church and Religion, but themselves and their own interest, wou'd not long stand out; and in the mean time there may be such divisions sown among them, and one University set against another, as they may be disabled from doing much mischief.

The Tories want courage as well as sense, and may be us'd by a resolute Prince as he

2 thinks

thinks fit : but if a Prince is so abject, as to court them, they grow most insolent in power, and no Exchequer is sufficient to satisfy their unreasonable demands ; and so mercenary are they, that there's scarce one amongst them but may be easily brib'd to betray his own party. Sir C*** M*** is a remarkable instance of this, who, tho' at their head for many years till his death, was by agreement against the Court in little matters, the better to serve it in greater.

CROMWELL by acting a steady part, and employing none but such as were hearty in his interest, tho' he had in a manner the whole Nation against him, yet govern'd as he thought fit ; whereas the STUARTS, tho' they had the whole Nation for them, yet by not observing such a conduct, but giving themselves up to be govern'd by a few worthless men (who as long as they enjoy'd their favour heap'd what preferments they pleas'd on themselves and their creatures) met with a great many difficulties, and their affairs were continually embarrass'd.

A Prince who only sees with his Favourites eyes, and hears with their ears, can be no better than their tool, to execute those designs that their ambition, their covetousness, their revenge, and their other passions will inspire them with ; and the more a King is a stranger, the more will they be tempted
to

to endeavour to impose on him, especially if before they have govern'd other Princes as they pleas'd : such men will take the merit of all the good which is done to themselves, and lay the blame of all ill on him. A Prince thus besieg'd by his Favourites, tho' his understanding be never so good, yet it will cause his own subjects to have but a very mean opinion of his parts. Whereas a King who has a mind to govern, and not to be govern'd by his Ministers, ought upon all occasions, to receive information from such private persons without doors, as are men of good understanding, and have shew'd themselves in the worst of times zealous of his interest, and who by being made easy in their private circumstances, have nothing to do but to attend to his Majesty's service.

These Men, tho' with the utmost privacy, may be permitted humbly to offer their opinion, and with the like privacy receive his Majesty's command. This wou'd give him an opportunity to see whether his Ministers acted sincerely with him, and make them as well as others have a just opinion of his great penetration ; so that none would dare ever to impose on him ; and the advantage his Majesty may receive (not to mention any others) as to the management of his Revenue either at home or in the Plantations (which last is under the worst regulation) would be very considerable. And the Trade of the Nation has

has been so little the business of the Ministry, that no other use has been made of the Board of Trade, which cost the Government every year such considerable sums, than to skreen the miscarriages of the Ministry; and the filling up that Commission with Merchants, and such as understand Trade, wou'd be a great satisfaction to all the trading part of the Nation.





P H Y S I C
WITHOUT
P H Y S I C I A N S :
In a
L E T T E R
T O

B * * * G * * * , *Esq*;

Non Rem antiqui damnabant sed Artem.

PLIN. Nat. Hist. xxix. i.



O mention your Friendship, Generosity, or any other of your good qualities to your self, is no more improper, than doing it to your acquaintance, or to those whom your name has any way reach'd; that is, telling them what they know already:
VOL. II. S but

but as these will be always well-pleased, to find their experience or their opinion confirm'd by fresh instances; so you, SIR, ought never to be offended, at the grateful expressions of those you have oblig'd, tho' praise be not what you either like or seek. I take the liberty therefore to repeat the ineffaceable sense I have of the concern you shew'd, for my late indisposition at London; and my thanks for so seasonably assisting me even in person, to fly from the foggy, smoaky, steamy, and putrid air of that vast City: which, in so weak a condition, wou'd have naturally kill'd me in less than a fortnight, without needing the help of art to do it sooner. I am not ignorant, that certain men of vitiated palates, yet mighty pretenders to nice breeding, declare a disrelish of all such personal acknowledgments, especially if public: but they are such as your favorite Author, the younger PLINY, has long since describ'd, (1) *men who doing nothing themselves deserving commendation, think it impertinent that any should be commended.* The disapprobation of such delicates I shall studiously court, by never failing to applaud merit.

As for my present state, I am recovering indeed, tho' very slowly: for having as yet little appetite, I can have no great strength;

I

nor

(1) Postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. *Lib. 8. Ep. 21.*

nor have I been once out of doors, since last abroad with your self. This is the effect of Physic, taken against judgment, and given without any. Had I obey'd the call of Nature, to which I am not wont to be disobedient; and retir'd from London when my Lungs and Stomach begun to fail me (which I perceiv'd both to do by degrees for four winters past, tho' in the thickest fogs breathing and eating freely in the Country) this sickness had not in all probability happen'd: and when it happen'd, had I then quitted the Town with the soonest, had I kept to Mr. LA MARQUE's simple and intelligible manner of treatment, which succeeded likewise to admiration (for I shall never excuse my own blameable easiness in this matter) I had e'er now been in perfect health. That honest man, who's well worth your acquaintance, is a good Botanist, a dextrous Surgeon, and prepares his own Medicines; joining all the three functions together, as of right they were united originally: and solely trusting to his own eyes, experience, and judgment. But I must needs be fashionable, and persuaded to put my self under the care of a collegiate Physician by a noble Lord, the best of Patriots and kindest of Friends; who himself, the more's the pity, is sure to fall one day by the hands of the Doctors: men, who, the greatest part of them, ruin Nature by Art; and who, by endeavouring to be always very cunning for others, by making every thing a mys-

tery, are frequently too cunning for themselves.

This has been the point in regard to me, since my Physician (willing enough I believe to do me good) plainly mistook both my Case and Constitution. It wou'd be tedious, to give you an account of the particulars. Thus much only I now tell you, that what was given me for a gentle aperitive, to dispose my body for stronger operations, vomited and purg'd me for the best part of three days; brought on a looseness, that cou'd hardly be stopt in a week; and, besides the continuance of the vomiting, threw me into fainting and swooning fits. Many material observations, that I made from time to time on other people, slightly indispos'd, but disabled or dispatch'd by their Physicians, presented themselves on this occasion fresh to my mind. On this you may therefore depend, that, happen what will, I shall never more put my self under the management of such, whose art is founded in darkness, and improv'd by Murther. Even this Gentleman, after my telling him how much and how violently his Lenitive had vomited me, which he own'd was contrary to his expectation, seem'd no otherwise concern'd than gravely to say, *That it was very remarkable.* Was it so Doctor? I promise you then, it shall be the last Remark, that any Physician shall ever make upon me; and the

reason very good : (2) *They learn their Art at the hazard of our lives, and make experiments by our deaths*; which is the infallible sentence of one who was a thorough judge, and who'll tell you more truths presently. From this censure however ought to be exempted those few gallant spirits (far exalted above the herd of their profession) who, by their Learning, Integrity, and Application, deserve to be stil'd the *Benefactors* and *Deliverers* of mankind, in this like God himself: only it were to be wish'd that they follow'd the example farther, and made the charge of their assistance so easy; as barely to serve for an exception from him, who bestows all his benefits freely. A distinction (in short) ought to be made, be the number on one side ever so small.

But the whole mystery, with the numberless mischiefs, of Quackery, (for, the cause of the Disease being once known, all Physic, except manual Operations, a regular Diet, moderate Exercises, and the proper use of Simples, is such) all Quackery, I say, you'll find divinely laid open by the elder PLINY, in the 1st Chapter of the 29th Book of his *Natural History*: a work little read by the Physicians, and less understood; since even the delirious fables, charms, and other magi-

S 3

cal

(2) Discunt periculis nostris, & experimenta per mortes agunt. PLIN. *Nat. Hist. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

cal vanities he so judiciously explodes, are by many of them grossly confounded with his approv'd remedies and most solid remarks. It is literally an unparallel'd performance, the like having never been accomplish'd before or after him: and the character his Nephew gives of it, is no more than just; that it is not only (3) *a work full of Learning, but likewise as diffuse and diversify'd as Nature it self.* Certain passages out of him, instead of a more modish New-year's Gift, I hereby send you; being sure they'll please, if they do not convince you.

After having given a historical account of the many changes, some of 'em from white to black as we say, that the Art has undergone (which is an insuperable objection against it) he proceeds (4) thus: *There is no doubt but all those Physicians, in hunting after fame by some novelty, make an assur'd traffick of our lives. Hence those miserable diversities of opinion*

(3) *Naturae Historiarum xxxvii. opus diffusum, eruditum, nec minus varium quam ipsa Natura. PLIN. lib. 3. Ep. 5.*

(4) *Nec dubium est, omnes istos, famam novitate aliquâ aucupantes, animas statim nostras negotiari. Hinc illae circa aegros miserae sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem censente, ne videatur accessio alterius: hinc illa infelicitis monumenti inscriptio, TURBA SE-MEDICORUM PERIISSE. Mutatur Ars quotidie, toties interpolis, & ingeniorum Græcæ flatu impellitur; palamque est, ut quisque interistos loquendo possit, Imperatorem illico vitæ necisque fieri. Ceu verò non nulli gentium sine Medicis degant, nec tamen sine Medicinâ: sicut populus Romanus ultra sexcentimum annum, nec ipse in accipiendis Artibus lentus; Medicinæ etiam avidus, donec expertam damnavit. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

opinion in Consultations about the sick, not one of 'em declaring himself of another's Judgment, lest he should seem to approve his Sentiments: hence that Inscription order'd by a wretched patient to be put on his Tomb, THAT THE MULTITUDE OF HIS DOCTORS HAD KILL'D HIM. The Art is chang'd every day, being as often patch'd up, and we are driven whithersoever the breath of the Grecian wits [who invented this mystery] will blow us. 'Tis moreover evident, that the greater tongue-pad any among 'em is, he straight becomes the sovereign disposer of Life and Death; as if thousands of Nations had not liv'd, and still do so, without Physicians, tho' not without Physic. Thus did the People of Rome for above six hundred years, whereas they were not backward in receiving the Arts; and even fond of Physic, till after trial, they condemn'd and banish'd it. Here's our first passage.

Now, he that in these daily, these endless changes and contradictory methods, does not see the absolute uncertainty of the Art, must needs be either senseless, or prejudic'd, or interested: and it is as evidently observable in ours as in all ages before us, that those Nations, which have no Physicians, are troubled with few diseases; and these easily cur'd by Diet, Exercise, or Simples, whose effects have been long and generally known, many of them Specifics. Thus it is likewise with particular persons, who make little use of

Physicians where they abound, of which I could give many examples; my self among the rest, till I became infected with this deplorable habitude of some of my best friends, it self the greatest of Distempers. But shall we have recourse to no sort of Physicians? I answer, that if there be any choice, 'tis the hardest of all things to be made: for the Doctors have almost as many jarring Sects and incompatible Factions among 'em as the Priests, and come little short of hating each other as heartily; that is, like Devils, according to a general (5) maxim. They broach novel opinions visibly for the sake of thwarting their Adversaries, there being nothing so ridiculous or extravagant, which many of 'em do not hold: generally founding their conceits, upon some loose scrap of one antient Sage or other, which seems to countenance what they maintain standing thus alone; but, read with what goes before or after in the same place, it signifies quite the contrary, or something as different as a Cock and an Elephant.

Nor is this the worst. They reduce all Diseases, with their Cures, right or wrong to certain precarious Systems, or Hypotheses, according to which he that expresses himself the most volubly or plausibly, sets up immediately for an able Physician,

(5) *Odium Theologorum est odium Diabolorum. Consens. Univers.*

cian, and is by others so deem'd: tho' he knows nothing of Anatomy, Botany, or any such requisite qualifications; and wou'd sooner kill a man according to the Doctrine he has espous'd, than cure him by following any other method. PLINY does not exceed bounds a jot, in affirming (6) *with wonder and indignation, that their Art has been heretofore more inconstant, and is now more frequently alter'd, than any other, tho' none be more amply rewarded*; the easiest means, one would think, for acquiring of certainty and stability. I shall not insist on such slight crimes, compared to others, as their willfully protracting many times the cure of Diseases; or their turning of small disorders into perillous symptoms, in order to squeeze the purse of an opulent patient: nor yet am I prone to credit those Physicians, who accuse some of their faculty of willfully sending a patient out of the world; lest another should have the credit of a cure, which they cou'd not effect. This suggestion may be owing to their mutual envy, which is long since grown into more than one (7) Proverb.

But

(6) *Mirumque & indignum protinus subit, nullam Artium inconstantior fuisse, & etiamnum sæpius mutari, cum sit fructuosior nulla. Hist. Nat. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

(7) *Medicorum Invidia:*

Medicus Invidiæ Pelagus:

Medicus Invidiæ perforata Clepsydra.

Consens. Univers.

But not to quit such an entertaining and instructive companion as PLINY, a good way lower in the same Chapter I have quoted, there's another curious passage; which, tho' the matter of every body's observation, was never so happily express'd. He begins with the sottish credulity of the Patients, and goes on with the stupendous imposture of their Doctors; who, (to speak of the thing as modestly as may be) are departed almost as far from ESCULAPIUS and HIPPOCRATES, as the Christian Priests are from JESUS CHRIST and his APOSTLES. Thus run his (8) words: *Whoever treats of Physic, otherwise than in Greek terms, has no authority; no not with the ignorant vulgar, or such as understand not a word of the language: and they believe those things the less, which concern their health and preservation, if they are made intelligible to them. Thus (by HERCULES) it comes to pass in this alone of all Arts, that credit is presently given to any body, who professes himself a Physician, tho' a lye be not so dangerous*
in

(8) Imò verò auctoritas, aliter quàm Græcè eam tractantibus (Medicinam scilicet) etiam apud imperitos expertesque linguæ, non est: ac minùs credunt, quæ ad salutem suam pertinent, si intelligunt. Ita (Hercules) in hac Artium solâ evenit ut cuicunque, Medicum se professio, statim credatur, cùm sit periculum in nullo mendacio majus: non tamen illud intuemur, adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. Nulla præterea Lex, quæ puniant inscitiam capitale; nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris, & experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantùm hominem occidisse impunitas summa est: quinimò transit in convitium, & intemperantia culpatur; ultroque, quæ periere, arguuntur. *Hist. Nat. ubi supra.*

in any other regard: but this we do not see or consider, so flattering and agreeable is the hope, that every one conceives in his own behalf. Let it be also consider'd that there is no Law, for punishing with death the ignorance that causes it; nor so much as an example of any being call'd to account on such a score. They learn their Art at the hazard of our Lives, and make experiments by our Deaths: besides, that none, but only Physicians, may murder men with all security and impunity; nay, and affront their memory afterwards, reproaching them with intemperance, and reviling the dead without provocation. If you believe them, in a word, none ever perish'd by a Physician, nor recover'd without one. How disingenuous! how barbarous! first to torture and kill us, and then to give out, we did it our selves; that we wou'd not be govern'd, and ate, or drunk, or did something else the Doctor forbid: whereas on the other hand, if a Patient's happy Constitution gets the better of an improper prescription, and the person mends; then the Doctor has wrought a signal Cure, and the Medicine is cry'd up to the destruction of thousands. But all that Chapter, of which I only give a few choice sketches, ought to be carefully read over and over by every one, who values such near concerns as health and life.

Now, SIR, since I have so frankly declar'd against those Empirics, tho' not against Medicine,

cine, (which is the gift of God and Nature) I shall, when my health is confirm'd, and leisure permits, send you my thoughts more particularly, about the method how we may acquire the knowledge of those things, wherein this Medicine truly consists; and at the same time give you some necessary cautions against the intolerable cheats of the Apothecaries, who impose on the Physicians, as much as these on the Patients: for, to do every body justice, the latter have not done half the hurt to mankind as the former; and they wou'd do still less, did they prepare their own Medicines, and avoid those monstrous mixtures, which are the source of infinite mischiefs, and wherein a systematical conjecture has more place than reasonable or experimental knowledge. They were deceitfully invented to bereave people of their money and their senses. The poor Patients must never know what they take, nor ever pay enough for what they do not know. Besides that the several ingredients of those Compositions (by our Author prettily term'd *inexplicable*, or if you will *inextricable*) thus intangl'd and imbarrafs'd, fermented, coagulated, or any other way alter'd, do often produce quite other effects than what were expected from their proportionable adjustment: whereas perhaps any one of them, at least some other Simple for certain, wou'd succeed as intended.

The genuine Books of HIPPOCRATES, with a few other pieces in that collection call'd *his Works*, are the best guides and helps to him, that wou'd study Medicine in the way of nature and experience. Such a person neither prepossess'd by any hypothesis, nor servilely tying himself down to any system, ought to pick what's rational, good and experienc'd, wherever he finds them; as well from an old woman or a savage Indian, as from Dr. MEAD, or Professor BOERHAVE: nor shou'd he slight every thing that even Quacks and Mountebanks vend, who often light one way or other on an excellent remedy, by the credit of which they dispose of numberless poysons. Finally, he must not be a THESSALUS, one *who in the reign of NERO* (as (9) PLINY acquaints us) *rav'd and foam'd against the Physicians of all ages before him, rejecting indiscriminately whatever they had invented or approv'd*: and this, not out of love to truth, or for the good of mankind; but to bring the whole grist of Rome and Italy (if not of the Empire) to his own mill, pardon so vulgar an expression. The candor, judicious observations, and incredible diligence of HIPPOCRATES, will give us a nobler idea of things. That admirable person, whom for some years past I have esteem'd, as I do still, for one of the

(9) Eadem aetas, Neronis principatu, ad Thessalum transtulit; delentem cuncta majorum placita, & rabie quâdam in omnis aevi Medicos perorantem, &c. *Plin. Ibid.*

the most accurate Philosophers; and whose writings I have perus'd more than once on that account (for at the University I never look'd into him, then groveling under the prejudice of thinking him fit only for Physicians) HIPPOCRATES, I say, who has preserved in part the salutiferous remedies of ESCULAPIUS, shall be the champion of the next Letter: well assur'd, that we may as successfully batter Quackery by his authority, as we do Superstition by that of the Bible.

In the mean time PLINY shall hold his rank in this Letter, and entertain us now with a short parallel between the no less easily than cheaply procur'd Simples of the Fields or Gardens, and those expensive far-fetch'd pernicious mixtures of the Apothecaries, equally ruining men's bodies and estates. Hear him, and be wiser. *It (10) has pleas'd NATURE to make these the only Remedies, things that may be prepar'd by every body, easy to be found without expence, and some of 'em our daily food. But the frauds of men, and sharpers with baited hooks, have invented those shops, wherein every man's own Life is publickly*

(10) Haec sola Naturae placuerat esse Remedia, parata vulgo, inventu facilia, ac sine impendio, & ex quibus vivimus. Postea fraudes hominum, & ingeniorum capturae, officinas invenêre istas, in quibus sua cuique homini venalis promittitur vita, Statim compositiones & mixturae inexplicabiles decantantur, Arabia atque India in medio aestimantur, ulcerique parvo Medicina a Rubro Mari imputatur; cùm Remedia vera quotidie pauperrimus quisque coenet: nam si ex horto petantur, aut herba vel frutex quaeratur, nulla artium vilior fiet. *Hist. Nat. lib. 24. cap. 1.*

publickly exposed to sale to him. There, compositions and inexplicable mixtures are immediately cry'd up; Arabia and India are rated on the counter, and a cure from the Red-Sea is apply'd to an inconsiderable bile; whereas the poorest man has, every day, the true Remedies for a sallet: but if such be brought out of the garden, or some herb or shrub be sought in the fields, the Apothecaries will of all arts become the most contemptible. The passage is in the first Chapter of the 24th Book, and is too plain to need any comment.

I wou'd only here observe, how many, how great cures we continually read and hear perform'd in the East and West-Indies, by flowers, roots, leaves, juices, barks and the like. But, without going to foreign Countries, wonders are daily wrought by Simples in the Highlands of Scotland, in the Hebrides or Western Isles, and in some parts of Ireland, whither the plague of systematical Physic has not yet penetrated: and, what is still more observable, when, by the information of Travellers or otherwise, any Remedy of this kind is communicated to a collegiate Physician (as it sometimes happens) presently this man of mystery, who scorns to learn of any one, so alters and disguises his discovery, by preparing it more artificially than the Natives, or incorporating it with a multitude of other things, that it either loses all its virtue, or produces a different,

ferent, if not a contrary effect. In the mean time a noble Medicine, perhaps a Specific, is cry'd down and grows into disuse, thro' the credulity of those that implicitly hearken to a pretending Coxcomb. Thus even the Peruvian bark, and Ipecacuana root, are often render'd noxious or insignificant by pharmaceutical preparations.

We must not ungratefully forget on this occasion those wise and worthy Ladies, who, considering, or it may be sadly experiencing, the dangerous and often fatal compositions, the clogging and nauseating flops of the Physicians (to say nothing of their imperious dictating oracular declarations, or insolent behaviour) take care not only of their own healths and that of their Families; but are also a common blessing in this respect to all around them, whether in town or country: particularly to the lower sort of people, glad to live by cheap and obvious means; while the Great chuse to perish by rules of Art, and to make a parade of their wealth, by the sums they lavish on exotic drugs, not content with enriching one domestic poysoner. Among such beneficent Ladies, I had the happiness to be for several years acquainted with one, who was wife to the best and bravest Citizen that ever lived; whom, tho' by constitution valetudinary, she skillfully nurs'd to a good old age: till at last this excellent woman was seiz'd so violently by a fever, that,
not

not being in a condition to order those helps for her self, she was always so ready to afford others, a Physician was call'd, and she dy'd universally lamented, nor did the truly destitute Sir ROBERT CLAYTON, for this was the man, long survive his faithful companion and preserver. That at present, SIR, I entertain strong hopes of a perfect recovery, that I am able to send you this long Letter (written indeed by fits and starts in my intervals of up-sitting) is for the greatest part owing to the proper things, and directions for using them, sent me by a Lady, exemplarily tender of an infirm husband: and who, as in beauty and modesty she's inferior to none of her own Sex; so, in a clear understanding and an agreeable conversation, she surpasses most of ours. I am likewise inform'd by very good hands, that the Dutchess of MARLBOROUGH (which I record to her Grace's honor, and will not be reckon'd the least of her virtues) contributes more to the ease and relief of the never fame-dying Hero, her illustrious consort, than all the aids of collegiate art; which, in such mighty circumstances, cou'd not possibly fail of being procur'd, were there in reality any thing of this kind effectual or certain. I wish some of this great Lady's family had never seen a Physician. So much of this subject for the present.

If any of the faculty should chance to see my Letter, I know they would first make an arrogant grimace, as disdaining one unskill'd in their profession; and then pretend to answer it with an insipid Jest, saying, that tho' I complain'd of being immoderately purg'd and vomited, I had not yet got rid of all my Bile. That is true: to let 'em see I know something of the animal economy, tho' little of their juggling. Nevertheless, I do assure ye, my old friend, that I never wrote any thing with more phlegm in my whole life; which those facetious Gentlemen may be ready enough to allow, tho' in a different sense from you. But I care as little what they say, as they do what becomes of their Patients: and if they provoke me (as CICERO said of the Petty-foggers of Rome, who reproach'd him with not understanding the quirks and chicanery of the Law) I shall in three days become no less master of their legerdemain and jargon, than the best of themselves. This, however, would be throwing away too much time by any, that scorn'd to make use of it to the same vile purposes. A nobler task attends me: for I shall study Nature hereafter with regard to the body of man, in her own way and for my own preservation, as the best Philosophers were antiently wont: there being nothing more pleasant than so useful an amusement, very consistent with other occupations. This I was always inclin'd to do, having early assisted at

two courses of Anatomy, after being tolerably initiated into Botany : but I was diverted from so good a resolution, I know not how. The Craft I abhorr'd, the Skill I admired ; hercin precisely of my Author's mind, who says, that *the antients did not condemn the thing, but the trade.*

While I am comforting my self with these sage ideas, you are busily retrieving your losses by the villanous execution of a late execrable Scheme. Long may you enjoy health for your own sake, and that of your lovely family. But as I heartily interest my self in whatever concerns you, so I particularly wish, you may never become the prey of those merciless sharks, I have been hitherto describing : for were your purse as large as your soul, it wou'd not suffice both for Doctors and Directors ; and believe me, your body is as little to be trusted with the one, as your money with the other. By these you have lost part of your wealth, and I part of my health by those : wherefore let the caution be mutual, and be persuaded that I am, Dear SIR, your most faithful friend, your most oblig'd and obedient Servant.

Putney, January

1721-2.



LETTERS.

To * * *

Oxford, Jan. 1694.

S I R,



Got safe to Oxford, tho' not without frequent apprehensions of being set upon by highway men; and indeed we narrowly escap'd, for the Coaches that came in next after us, and they say those of Monday before us, were all robb'd. I was so far from making any observations upon the country as I came along, that, as if I were never to know my way back again, I could not once look out, the weather was so tempestuous. One of the Fellows of New College, a violent partisan of the Clergy, happen'd to be my fellow traveller, of whom in that small time, as occasional discourses favour'd me, I inform'd my self of the abilities, genius, and disposition of the Doctors. The place is very pleasant, the Colleges are exceeding fine, and

I must

I must confess I never saw so much of the air of an University before. I ly under great obligations to the Gentlemen who recommended me, both for the advantageous Character they were pleas'd to bestow upon me, and the suitable reception I met with: Mr. CREECH in particular has been extraordinary civil to me, and did me the honor to recommend three or four of the most ingenious men in the University to my acquaintance, who accordingly visited me. The like did Dr. MILL and Mr. KENNET. This I look upon as very obliging, and so I take it, but it is very troublesome, and somewhat *à la mode de France*: for I am put into as great agonies as Sir LIONEL JENKINS to answer the expectations of those grand Virtuolos; especially some of their Antiquaries, and Linguists who saluted me with peals of barbarous sounds and obsolete words, and I in return spent upon them all my Anglo-Saxon and old British Etymologies; which I hope gave them abundant satisfaction: Hebrew and Irish, I hope, will bear me out for some weeks, and then I'll be pretty well furnish'd from the Library, into which I was sworn and admitted yesterday only: for it was not to be done, without being first propos'd in Congregation. This is the reason, SIR, that I have not sooner written to you, having no account to give of my self. For the future, I'll endeavour frequently to acquaint you with something more entertaining than what concerns my self; tho' if I

cou'd understand what it is you most esteem, I shou'd particularly study to give you satisfaction: with whatever else I can think may convince you, that I am not a little proud of the honor my friends did me, in making me known to so considerable and ingenious a person; and that I am very sensible of your goodness in contributing to make my life more easy, and my studies more free. I beg you, SIR, to acquaint Mr. FREKE as soon as you see him with the contents, whose care and favour I shall always endeavour to deserve: looking upon him as the *primum mobile* of my happiness. I forgot to tell you that Mr. CREECH is publishing *Lucretius* in Latin, with a Paraphrase and Commentary, and *Manilius* in English Verse, which will be nothing inferior to *Lucretius*. Dr. MILL has already communicated his Testament to me, and others sent me several Books, I only inquir'd after, without any design of making bold so soon to borrow; all which I attribute to the respect they owe their friends. I am conveniently and pretty reasonably lodg'd at Mr. Bodington's over against all Souls College, to which place all my Letters and Packets are to be directed.

FOR

Mr. T O L A N D.

Oxford, May 4, 1694.

Mr. TOLAND,

THE Character you bear in Oxford is this; that you are a man of fine parts, great learning, and little religion.

Whither or no this be your just Character, I cannot say; but this I can say, and am assur'd of, that if it be, 'tis your highest interest to reflect seriously upon the matter, and to endeavour betimes to deserve a better. This is the whole occasion of my writing to you; and I entreat you to receive it as it is meant.

'Tis the constant voice of the Holy Scriptures; and there is nothing more agreeable to our common reason, than that much should be requir'd of him to whom much is committed: you are sensible (I believe) that you have receiv'd a great deal; it lies at your door to employ it so, as to be able to give up a good accompt to him, from whom you receiv'd it, at the last day.

'Twould be a very grievous and bitter thought, when you lay upon your death-bed (and thither one day you must come; God only knows how soon) to consider that your

parts, and your knowledge, which, if employ'd in the service of your maker, and to the benefit of mankind, might have entitl'd you to a nobler share of happiness and glory ; shall not only be of no advantage to you, but shall infinitely enhance and augment your condemnation.

Popular esteem, the applauses of a Coffee-house, or of a Club of prophane Wits, are mean, unworthy ends ; and which a man of understanding is asham'd to stoop for : they are too slender to satisfy at the present ; and 'tis certain they can yield us no comfort when we shall have most need of it.

But the discharge of our duty, and a good conscience, are a never-failing spring of pleasure : and what mighty advances may a man make in virtue, if such abilities as God hath been pleas'd to bless you with, were directed into a right channel ?

Think not, SIR, that I speak thus to draw you over to a party ; as though Religion either feared an ingenious adversary, or need'd a learned advocate : no, (bless'd be God) she stands firm upon a rock, and 'tis not within the power of the eager malice of Devils, much less of the vain tongues of wicked men, to overthrow her : neither doth God need the service of any man ; he, who ordains strength *ex ore infantum*, can work his ends,
and

and maintain his own cause, without the concurrence of human wisdom or policy.

No. Believe me, I am concern'd for your sake: methinks, 'tis ten thousand pities that any one should freely choose to be eternally wretched, or but moderately happy, into whose hands God hath put the means of purchasing an exceeding weight of Glory; and whom he seems to have designed to be a vessel of honour.

All that I can do to you, is to entreat you by the love you bear your own Soul, to weigh impartially the evidences, and the consequences of the Christian Religion: if its evidences convince you not of its reality, I must pity your blindness; but if they do, then I am sure its consequences are such as must either allure or frighten him that is not either very disingenuous, or very stupid. The genuine issue of this reflection, will be an hearty resolution of embracing the plain easy duties enjoined in the Gospel: which, as it is the only sure grounds upon which we may expect Salvation hereafter, so is it the true foundation of peace and satisfaction in this world: every step we tread, before we have, in some measure, secur'd our peace with Heaven, is infinitely hazardous, and such as flesh and blood could not bear the prospect of, were our eyes open. God who made you, and hath so richly blessed you,
of

of his great mercy, bleſs you yet farther, and make you become an happy inſtrument of his Glory. Amen.

Dear SIR, I remain your hearty well-wiſher and real (though unknown) friend and ſervant,

A— A—

F O R

Mr. T O L A N D.

Oxford, May 7, 1694.

Dear Mr. TOLAND,

I Hear that you have received a Note of the 4th inſtant, which was ordered to be left for you at Nan's Coffee-houſe: I hear alſo with what acceptance you entertain it; you ſay, the Letter has nothing in it immodeſt or uncivil; but you cannot believe that he who wrote it intended you any kindneſs by it, becauſe he ſent it unſeal'd and to a publick houſe.

Now to this, I ſay, that ſuppoſing the Letter to be modeſt and civil; it ſeems more equitable to impute any miſcarriage or accidental indecency in its delivery, to indiſcretion, rather than lack of kindneſs.

For

For, alas! had he intended to defame you, how easy had it been to have pitch'd upon a more natural and likely means of procuring it, than the directing a Letter to your own hand? it being highly improbable that, if any thing were found there tending to your disparagement, you your self should have divulged it.

No, assure your self, Dear SIR, he who wrote it, meant you no harm, but rather the contrary; and if, through any accident, the matter went farther than his own, and your breast, 'tis quite beside his intention.

That excellent sweet-tempered Religion, which he entreats you to look towards, and embrace; as it obliges its followers to love all men, so it forbids them to defame or upbraid any: and I am sure, that he who sent you that Letter, would willingly put his hands under your feet; to do you any real service.

The true reason of his sending it to the Coffee-house, was because he knew not your lodgings; and to have enquired for them might occasionally have discovered, what he designs to conceal.

The cause of his sending it unsealed, was a dependance upon the general integrity of mankind in this particular; arising from the
odium

odium which attends busy-bodies; and chiefly those who examine other mens papers.

In short, whether you believe him your friend or your enemy; he passionately desires you to lay to heart what he has said. If he be an enemy, you will sufficiently revenge your self upon him, by disappointing him of all occasion of reproaching you: if he be a friend, you will abundantly gratify him, by letting him see the good effects of the travel of his soul: but, above all, by that means you will be a true friend to your self. Dear SIR, farewell, and may the blessing of God always attend you.

Dear SIR, I must beg one favour of you. The story runs thus; that a Letter was left at the Coffee-house with this Superscription, *For Mr. TOLAND's perusal*. Now, I confess, this inscription seems to promise somewhat scurrilous and reflective: but you who know that this is false, may do me thus much justice, as to satisfy those you may speak with concerning it, that 'twas inscribed otherwise,

Mr. TO-

Mr. TOLAND's
A N S W E R.

S I R,

IF I knew your person as much as I honour your merit, the stile of my Letter should, it may be, better suit your quality and station: but I am persuaded by the extraordinary temper of yours, that a sincere Answer is the greatest respect I can pay you. The grave and serious advice you condescend to give me, with this fair opportunity of vindicating my self from all indecent aspersions, cannot but oblige me to the highest pitch of gratitude. I bless God, that in this loose and sceptical age, there remains so much of the truly primitive spirit as the genuine fruits of it express in you. Indeed, your close and perspicuous arguments, so candidly manag'd, and so properly apply'd, could not well miss their effect upon any ingenuous man, under my suppos'd circumstances; but I heartily wish I could as justly claim the first two parts of the character, you say, I bear in Oxford, as I really abhor the last. You seem, SIR, to speak more of me from the discourses of others than any personal knowledge, and you are not ignorant how cautiously we should receive the informations of any, till we learn the interests and inclinations of both the parties. Had I the happiness of your acquaintance, which I passionately desire, I
could

could quickly convince you that the irreligion laid to my charge, is as much owing to the malice of my enemies, as the reputation of parts and learning to the goodness of my friends. Neither have I receiv'd so much as you think, tho' more than I deserve, and enough to render every neglect of my duty inexcusable.

I am sensible all my actions should be calculated for the glory of God, and the good of my country. To become more capable of answering these ends, is the true reason of the stay I make for some time in this famous University. And further than they contribute towards this design, neither the exceeding agreeableness of the place, nor the improving conversation of the members should be to me any attractives. But to what purpose should I study here or elsewhere, were I an Atheist or Deist, for one of the two you take me to be? What a contradiction to mention Virtue if I believ'd there was no God, or one so impotent that could not, or so malicious that would not reveal himself? Nay, tho' I granted a Deity, yet if nothing of me subsisted after death, what laws could bind, what incentives could move me to common honesty? Annihilation would be a sanctuary for all my sins, and put an end to my crimes with my self. Believe me, I am not so indifferent to the evils of the present life; but, without the expectation of a
better,

better, I should soon suspend the mechanism of my body, and resolve into unconscious atoms. Now if I am persuaded our Souls are immortal and responsible for their actions, to be eternally happy or miserable in a future state, I must be necessarily of some Religion: and I presume you will readily acknowledge it to be the Christian, when I assure you, that

“ I. I firmly believe the existence of an
“ infinitely good, wise and powerful Being,
“ which in our language we call God, substantially different from the Universe he
“ created, and continues to govern by his
“ Providence; of whom, through whom,
“ and to whom are all things.

“ II. Concerning CHRIST in particular,
“ I believe that he is God manifest in the
“ flesh, or true God and Man, perfectly united
“ without contrariety of will, or confusion of
“ essence. As to his human nature, that
“ according to the Prophets, he was born
“ of a pure Virgin, conceived by virtue of
“ the divine Spirit, and therefore ever free
“ from all the sinful disorders of fallen man.
“ That he rose from the dead the third
“ day after he was crucify'd by the Jews, and
“ forty days after ascended into Heaven,
“ from whence I expect his coming at the last
“ day to judge me and all the world: and
“ that when he was on earth he not only by
his

“ his life gave us a perfect example, and by
 “ his Doctrine an infallible rule of all that
 “ we are to do, suffer and hope; but also
 “ by the sacrifice of his death, reconcil’d to
 “ mercy all such as do the will of his Father,
 “ particularly those that believe his word,
 “ imitate his works, and accept his inter-
 “ cession. That as well the holy adult de-
 “ ceased before his passion, as children dy-
 “ ing before the use of reason, are deliver’d
 “ from death by his merits, so that none
 “ can be sav’d without a Mediator. And
 “ lastly, that he is the only Ruler and Legisla-
 “ tor of the Church.

“ III. I believe we are sanctify’d by the
 “ divine Spirit, who worketh in us, and with
 “ us, who directs and perfects us. I acknow-
 “ ledge the purity, excellence and obliga-
 “ tion of all the evangelical precepts, as they
 “ are comprehended under these three heads,
 “ to live temperately, justly, and piously; to
 “ love God above all things, and my neigh-
 “ bour as my self. This is the sum of my
 “ assurance of eternal life, in hopes where-
 “ of I am now writing this unfeign’d Con-
 “ fession of my Faith.

Whoever consents to these Articles, and
 receives the Scriptures for the word of God,
 is my brother in CHRIST, let him think of
 me or denominate himself as he pleases. I
 will not contend with any about dubious or
obscure

obscure points, and I do not so much regard frivolous matters, how superstitiously soever cry'd up by some, as to erect them into terms of Communion. I dare not confine the Church to the narrow limits of a peculiar Sect, or her Doctrines to the affected phrases of a Party; and because the Gospel teacheth us mutual forbearance and the love of our enemies, I would not be suspected to favour those I cannot abuse with unseemly heat, much less question the truth of what I hold unlawful to impose. No man can believe as he lists, and 'tis not just any should say what he thinks not. All that we have to do is charitably to instruct, and if we can, convince the erroneous. We may pray for the obstinate, and persist in our endeavours, but further we have no commission. They have as great an interest to save their own Souls, as we to encourage them to it: and if they slight our exhortations, we must leave them to God. The civil Society cannot be injur'd by this Toleration, whilst all irregular practices are punishable by the Magistrate; nor would I defend it, did I see the sin or the danger: so far am I from making it a shelter to Atheism and indifference, as my ill-wishers give out.

SIR, I hope by this time I have satisfy'd your pious concern about my everlasting happiness, and the evidence of that Religion, whereof, tho' I cannot pretend to be an in-

VOL. II. U genious,

genious, or a learned advocate, I shall always, according to my poor abilities, prove a faithful and a zealous one. I give you a thousand thanks for the pains you have taken about me in your two excellent Letters, which I shall still preserve and value. I am certain you intended me no hurt by them, which I may not say of those who suggested the unworthy thought. 'Tis true I was surpriz'd with the circumstances; yet never suspected your good intentions.

Things reflecting upon yours and my integrity were discour'd about the first Letter, which made me communicate it to several but in vain; for the malice of some Jacobites, who envy me common charity, proclaims my self the Author. This honor I'm sure is undesign'd, as the palpable absurdity that I should purchase a few commendations of course, at the expence of what is most laudable among men. But this is not the only time I have been grossly misrepresented by these Gentlemen, tho' ordinarily their efforts have contrary effects. At my first coming, they thought to frighten me with that terrible thing of a Commonwealth, an artifice I look'd upon despis'd, and forgotten as the incense of arbitrary power which they offer'd to the late Kings. But when they perceiv'd I was nothing shy of owning the true Constitution of the English Government, however basely nick-nam'd
by

by some of its degenerate subjects, they made a mighty noise about the Church, and falsely reported that I did not frequent the public worship from which they voluntarily separate themselves. Now they make my assiduity a fault for reasons as groundless as pitiful, so implacable is their spirit! But these miserable tricks not taking with the learned and the wise, they shifted scenes, and made me next an accomplish'd Conjuror for ridiculing Necromancy, and the second Sight. A simple story was whisper'd of the amazing feats I had done, which a worthy friend gave me occasion to expose to the diversion of the company, and the relator's disgrace. Well, if Magic won't do, Heresy must. I am a dangerous Anti-Trinitarian, for having often publicly declared that I could as soon digest a wooden, or broaden Deity, as adore a created spirit or a dignified man. This Socinianism and Arianism are, one would think, very orthodox.

SIR, these are few of the numerous instances I can produce of my adversaries unchristian hatred, which I pray God to forgive, as I do. Did they but mind their own business as much as I slight what they say of me, they would afford the Coffee-house better entertainment. 'Tis to undeceive you and the rest of my honored friends, whose favours I thankfully acknowledge, that I have writ this Answer. I was a while somewhat back-

ward to do it, lest any should imagine I minded our State Enthusiasts, but at length their clamours extorted it. I'm confident you'll do me that justice I expect, and becomes you, tho' I dare not flatter my self with the hopes of your more desirable acquaintance. Had you given me any Direction, you should have seen this Answer before I receiv'd your second obliging Letter; wherefore I entreat you, if this comes to your hand, not to forget this point the next time. I am, SIR, your much oblig'd, and most humble Servant.

F O R

Mr. T O L A N D.

Oxford, May 30, 1694.

S I R,

SOME time last week, I got the sight of a Letter which you left at the Coffee-house for your Friend A. A. and it being intended for a vindication of your Character, from the false and malicious aspersions of your ill-wishers, I am glad that I never found means of getting it into my hands securely, before it was open'd: for I should never have been able to have done you half the justice, which the timely appearance of this Paper in publick hath done.

I am sorry that you should think, that I mistook you for an Atheist or a Deist: by
the

the character of *little Religion*, I meant no more than this: that you were one who dealt somewhat too freely with it, a man of an aspiring and uncontrouled reason, a great contemner of Credulity, and particularly an undervaluer of the two extraordinary Cures, wrought lately at London: these do not immediately prove a man an Atheist; though, I confess, I was always apt to think, that they generally proceed from some degree of infidelity in the heart, which by a little indulgence may easily grow into an hatred and contempt of Religion; and thence insensibly dispose the mind for Socinianism, Deism, Atheism, or any thing: but however, I am concern'd at it the less, since you acknowledge some have been endeavouring to fasten a bad Character on you; and you have hence taken occasion to refute all Calumnies.

In the Letter you load me with much honor, much more than I expected, or deserve; in those who never saw my Letters, this raises an opinion that something is in them very extraordinary; but to those who have seen them, and to my self, 'tis an argument of great candour in you, who can love truth in so plain a dress: the abhorrence you express for Atheism, and your descanting upon it, even to the awakening the Civil power against it, give me grounds to believe that you have no real kindness for it: your concern for the looseness and

scepticism of this age, inclines me to hope that you are neither prophanely nor sceptically given; your so free declaration of your Faith, makes me think you an Orthodox believer; and your sense of the obligation of the Christian duties, and your resolves of appearing in the behalf of Religion, confirm me, that you are, and design to continue a very good Christian.

For, why should I not acquiesce in these tokens of sincerity? I confess, I hate a distrustful narrow temper, which is jealous and suspicious of all mankind; 'tis, methinks, a disparagement to our common nature, when we refuse to think well of another, till it's impossible to think otherwise, and is the very scepticism we condemn. No, I trust, SIR, you are in good earnest, and would not play with your soul's happiness: and I doubt not, but you will soon make many be of my mind; for Religion is no lifeless thing, but when once it hath taken root in the heart, (which is its proper soil) as a tree planted in the fertile valley, or (as the Psalmist speaks) by the water-side, it cannot fail to bring forth its fruits, its genuine, undoubted, distinguishing fruits, in due season.

And though God, who disposes and cultivates the heart, alone knows the time of its harvest, yet in man's judgment, no season
can

can be more proper for its producing a plentiful crop, than while the understanding is mature, and in its full strength, the mind fresh and impregnated with the dews and showers of God's grace, and moreover adorn'd with all outward accomplishments; than while the body is healthy and strong, and in a vigorous capacity of ministring unto the soul. This is the season, in which men expect that a noble soil should yield much fruit to be treasur'd up in store against a day of calamity, against the day of sickness, old-age, and death: and I am fully persuaded, that if a few generous spirits would stedfastly resolve to employ their rich endowments in the service of the donor, but especially praise him with the tongues which he hath given them; to stem the flood of impiety, and appear boldly in the behalf of virtue; shewing as well the loveliness of being virtuous, as the baseness and rascality of being wicked; and study seriously to engage all they converse with in that reasonable course, which alone, can render them happy here, and glorious hereafter; we should soon see a blessed change upon the earth, sin being by degrees extirpated, we might make some approach to our former Paradisaical state; in the language of the Prophet, instead of the Thorn, would come up the Firr-tree, and instead of the Brier, would come up the Myrtle-tree: millions of souls (each of them better than the whole perishing world) might

be rescu'd from destruction, and entitl'd to glory ; and the happy undertakers themselves, be assur'd of shining as the brightness in the firmament, as the stars for ever and ever : and oh ! that God would touch the hearts of some, who are fitted for this work, with the alone truly laudable ambition of becoming exceedingly beneficial to this world, and exceedingly happy in the next !

Dear SIR, I run out into this subject, as well, because my hopes of the good success of such an attempt (through God's blessing) are very strong and lively, (for I know that in reality, nothing is so arrant a coward as vice, and nothing is so forcible as reason and love) as likewise, because 'tis commonly reported, that you are at present upon a work, which I fear will not prove half so advantageous to yourself or others : 'tis said, that you are now publishing a piece with intent to shew, that there is no such thing as a *Mystery* in our Religion ; but that every thing in it is subjecible to our understandings. I confess, I do not foresee what good influence it would derive upon our practice, if all the deep and hidden things of God lay open to the meanest capacities (and there is no better argument with me, that the knowledge of them would be of no great use unto us, than that they lye so very deep) but that ever they should be thus laid open to men in these bodies, I freely own, I think
next

next to impossible. Myſteries, 'tis true, are reveal'd to the meek, and it may be the peculiar reward of ſome very humble perſons, to be admitted to behold ſome things within the veil : but then I am perſuaded, that whatever they ſee there, is of the ſame nature with St. PAUL'S *Ἀρρητὰ* ; it cannot, it need not be utter'd unto others. If you are really engag'd in ſuch a work, 'twould be folly in me to think of diverting you from it, by any thing which I can ſay ; let me only beg you to run over a book, entitl'd, *The Cauſes of the Decay of Chriſtian Piety*, a piece of the ſame lineage and integrity with the *Whole Duty of Man*, in which, among other melancholy truths, the great miſchief of ingenious perſons applying the choiceſt abilities to ſuch ſort of purpoſes, is pathetically lamented.

DEAR SIR, pardon, I beſeech you, the great freedom I uſe with you, I am unknown to you, and therefore am the freer ; though I confeſs, I think that ſome degree of this freedom would do no great harm in common converſation. I earneſtly deſire of you to let no man ſee this. You gave ſome reaſons which oblig'd you to impart my other, I ſee no ends which you can ſerve by diſcloſing this ; let me entreat you therefore, by the kindneſs which you ſay you bear me, not to let this go any farther than your ſelf. As to the perſonal knowledge, which you ſay, you could wiſh ; I aſſure you it can be of no uſe

to you, and it may be very prejudicial to my self, upon divers accounts; otherwise you may imagine I should not easily decline your so valuable an offerture: 'tis not any seeming modesty, but, indeed, real and necessary prudence which makes me study to be concealed.

Dear SIR, excuse all the trouble I have created you, and particularly that of this wearisome Letter: the matter, I hear, has made some noise, and I am sorry for it; all my comfort is, that I never intended it. Dear SIR, adieu.

I am

your real friend and servant.

T O

THE REVEREND Mr. * * *.

London, Sept. 12, 1695.

Reverend SIR,

I Can send you no news foreign or domestick this post; and, which is the greater wonder, your Champions of the Commonwealth of Learning seem to have retir'd into winter-quarters too, for we never enjoy'd a more profound peace in this respect: either no enemy appears at all, or, if now and then one makes an incursion, he meets with
little

little or no opposition ; except a Captain ANTONIO ventures abroad sometimes to pick up his straglers, and curse him afar off, as SHIMEI did good King DAVID. So, you know, *the Reasonableness of Christianity* was lately serv'd.

However, I can be no sufferer by this silence of the Learned, as long as you are pleas'd to honor me with your correspondence. You are the oracle I consult about all my difficulties, and from which I never miss of satisfaction. What employs my thoughts at present may seem a great Paradox ; but, unless your answer can make it in good earnest appear one to me, the world is like to have it one time or other for sound Divinity.

The Subject is the *Book of Job*. After proving it, with others, more antient than the writings of MOSES, and shewing it to be a real History and no Parable, contrary to the sentiments of the Jews and a modern author ; I discover the true Quality and Country of JOB, the noblest pattern on record of a mind truly divine, endu'd with the most finish'd wisdom and resolution. So far, you'll say, all goes very well. But further, I endeavour to make it appear in particular (for none before me, as I know, ever dreamt of any such thing) that only the Dialogue between JOB and his three Friends is the genuine Book,

3 beginning

beginning at verse the second, of chapter the third, and ending at the last verse of chapter the thirty first, according to our common division. Then I prove the Relation preceding this Dialogue, as an Argument to the Piece, wherein such odd, if not impossible, passages are told of Satan and the Sons of God, of Job himself, his wife, his children and friends, to be a meer Fable made by some idle Jew; who, finding the Hero of this excellent Poem labouring under the greatest afflictions, thought pity the particulars shou'd be unknown: and so by a liberty ordinary to the Rabbins, invented that monstrous Story, tho' without any sufficient ground for it, from Job's complaint and defence, or the reproaches and arguments of his Friends. I make the same account not only of the latter part of the last chapter, but also of the foregoing chapters, from the xxxii inclusively. And that same ELIHU the son of BARACHEL, who takes so much upon him in those chapters, I shall demonstrate to be the undoubted Author of all the Additions.

But tho' it be not my intention to give you the detail of my reasons for this Paradox, yet I would have you consider, that the most part of what I call in question, is penn'd in very dull and negligent prose; whereas the native beauties of the Dialogue appear even through the version, which is all rimed verse, according to the genius of the Eastern Poetry.

The

The Dialogue too is full of Arabisms, which help us to discover the original; but no such thing appears in the additions of the Hebrew Translator.

And to compleat all, I shew by the best Memoirs that any person can desire, what was JOB's true state, or the occasion of those Complaints, so pathetically express'd in this admirable piece.

All that I request of you, SIR, is, by the strongest reasons you can think on, to shew me any impossibility in such a performance; and if no better occur to you, let me have all the negative difficulties you can make.

SIR,

I am

your unalterable friend and servant,

A CON-

A

CONSOLATORY LETTER

To the honorable

Sir *ROBERT CLAYTON*, Kt.*Formerly Sheriff, afterwards Lord-Mayor, and
still Alderman of London.**London Decemb. 4, 1698.*

SIR,

THE passions are such an essential part of our constitution, and so inseparably united to our understanding, that on this account they are commonly term'd *natural affections*; nor is there any part of our fabrick wherein the effects of divine wisdom are more visible and obvious; seeing that to have all our members so wonderfully accommodated to their several uses would signify little, if we wanted the passions of joy and grief, or the sensations of pain and pleasure, which are the primary springs and motives of all our desires and actions. Herein therefore the excellence or depravation of our mind appears, according as reason governs our passions, or we suffer the passions to corrupt our reason. An inclination to eating and drinking (for example) is very natural,
and

and absolutely necessary for our preservation; but he, that considers no further than the pleasing and inviting tast of the meat or liquor, acts unnaturally: while another, who measures his appetite by a sufficient nourishment and support for his body, answers the design of God in planting these desires within him. In like manner, to grieve or be afflicted for the loss of any thing which in it self we count amiable and worthy, or pleasing and profitable to us in particular, is natural and just; for without this affection we should not sufficiently value these blessings, or be enough sollicitous to cultivate and preserve them: but on the other hand, so to let loose our passions on such doleful occasions as to set no bounds to our sorrow, and to despair of all other comforts at once, because we have lost any simple object of our felicity, is both unreasonable and defenceless.

Now, considering that the first motions of our passions are generally too violent to hear advice; and that indeed this impetuous torrent of the spirits is nothing so dangerous to our bodily health or intellectual faculties, as the melancholy and solitary thoughts that succeed (these being of a longer continuance and of a more pineing nature) I thought fit, SIR, to speak very little to you at the beginning concerning the early death of your most hopeful Nephew, and to write nothing at
all

all on this subject (which I count not so much your private loss, as that of the publick in a useful Citizen) till your mind should be less disturb'd, or your first transports well allay'd. And I must acknowledge that I was greatly pleas'd to perceive with how much decency and true manliness you behav'd your self on this occasion; tho', for preventing the fatal consequences of future pensiveness, I take the liberty at this time of laying a few considerations before you. I knew the young Gentleman well when we studied at Oxford together, and valu'd him both for his personal merit and the hope I conceiv'd of his ability to serve his Country in some eminent station.

This makes, not me alone, but all his other acquaintance to be deeply sensible of our loss in him; and therefore to be companions with you (tho' not on equal terms) in sorrow. But permit me to tell you, SIR, that of all others you have in my opinion the least reason to torment your self. That men are born mortal, every body knows, how few soever seem to consider it; for by many of their actions one would think they were certain of immortality here 'on earth. Nor are they less convinc'd that the whole course of life is subject to infinite changes and accidents, which by their sudden or unforeseen effects always confound the weak and vicious,
but

but never catch the honest and wise unprepared; for a virtuous man of good understanding is placed above all the chances of fortune; because he constantly expects them, and is never displeased but with the ill of others or his own frailties, which he labors to conquer and reform. Most people will agree likewise that we should not bear those things heavily, which we can by no means avoid; and the experience of all ages must persuade us that we can neither by poverty or pain, by slavery or disgrace, nor even by death it self, suffer any thing new or unusual; which reflection alone should teach us to live content with that condition wherein we are born.

But these arguments of Consolation, tho' very good and solid in themselves, are yet common to you, Sir ROBERT, with the rest of mankind. You have little reason in particular to impair your health, or to lessen the tranquillity of your mind by abandoning your self to fruitless mourning, when you seriously consider that after having rais'd your fortune solely by your own merit and industry (without losing your honor or reputation by any indirect and criminal methods of growing rich) you had the happiness of serving your country in the most publick capacity, as well in this City, as in the honourable House of Commons; and that in the most dangerous times, but yet with the greatest applause;

plause: that you still assist in the government of the greatest, freest, and most powerful City in the world, where you are universally esteem'd, particularly dear to the best persons, and that without your advice the most eminent of your fellow citizens will not administer their own share of the magistracy: that by publick and private charities, as well as by a generous and hospitable manner of living, you have shower'd the blessings of a plentiful estate the most agreeably to the will of heaven, the exigences of the needy, and the approbation of the best men: and that with all this you have neither neglected your own kindred, nor the relations of your excellent Lady, who all tenderly love and reverence you living, and will adore and bless your memory when dead: I say, when you consider all this you ought to entertain a becoming satisfaction in your mind, and to condemn all the cross accidents of the world.

When you further think on what you have done for that incomparable youth for whom you particularly destin'd a large share of your estate, and in whose laudable actions your country might promise it self as it were a continuation of your own life; how you gave him the liberal education of a Gentleman, and taught him the principles of true virtue, illustrated by your own example and that of other good men; you ought to be
greatly

greatly pleased that nothing was wanting of your side. And when on the other hand, you remember how well he answer'd all your care and hopes, how temperate, how learn'd, and how judicious he was; how prudent in his travels, and how pious in rendering his soul to God who gave it, you have the highest reason to rejoice that so liv'd and died a person of the best accomplishments attain'd thro' your beneficence and direction. Thus irreproachably to lead his life, deservedly belov'd of every body; and thus to finish his course agreeable to the utmost perfection of nature, would certainly be hereafter, and has, no doubt, hitherto been the result of your desires.

The only apology therefore left for your grief, must be, that he died sooner than was good, for you or himself. But I have too great an opinion of your understanding to imagine you should harbour any thought, which is not the less unreasonable for being so common. A passage to immortality, and a perpetual union with the supreme Being cannot be reckon'd for his disadvantage; and were there no sensation after death, he could not be reputed more miserable than before he was born: nor would this argument for sorrow be less cogent from the first moment of his nativity, since you might be sure he must inevitably die some time or other. And as for you, I will not appear so diffi-

dent of your accustom'd wisdom and gravity, as to suppose you should now be wanting to your self in making good the character you have hitherto obtain'd of constancy and firmness; or that you will expect that cure from length of time, which you ought speedily to perform by your own reason. You have still many opportunities of benefiting the world, you have the same means of doing good, and the same discernment to chuse the properest objects of your charity or care. Instead of one family you may raise several, or prevent others from falling to decay; and by what you design'd to give that lovely young Gentleman alone, you can make the fortunes of many, who may prove to be the ornaments of their country, and will be the most glorious monuments of your piety, wisdom, justice, liberality. But to one who so much exceeds me in age and understanding, to hint these things is sufficient.

I shall be extremely pleased to learn that these lines have afforded you any pleasure or consolation; and if they should not have all the effect I intended, yet I am satisfy'd that I did not fail of my Duty to serve a person whom all good men love, whom I particularly honor, and to whom I have so great obligations.

T O T H E S A M E.

London Decem. 7, 1698.

SIR,

AS those who have not perform'd any worthy actions themselves, think it impertinent that others should be commend'd; so the panegyrics, which fear or favor draws from servile spirits on undeserving persons in corrupt times, occasion all just praise to pass for flattery. But in those ages and places where liberty and learning equally flourish'd, every man's virtue had full justice done to it; nor were the most glorious rewards propos'd to merit half so effectual, as the distinguishing examples of brave or good men, to animate others with an emulation of their laudable actions. This manifestly appears in all the writings of the old Romans, particularly in the divine volumes of CICERO, where we meet with such noble characters, and such lovely pictures of his friends and cotemporaries, as may enflame the most insensible to glory or applause.

In imitation therefore of these perfect models, I wrote the Letter which I lately sent to you, and wherein the chiefest topic of comfort was the consideration of your own virtues. I send you now, as a justification of

this uncommon way of writing, and as an additional argument or example, the Translation of a Letter written upon the like occasion to CICERO after the Death of his lov'd Daughter TULLIA, a Lady of extraordinary learning and merits. CICERO, tho' the most eminent philosopher, politician, and orator in the world, was not proof against the first impressions of this misfortune: wherefore all the men of parts and quality that knew him, either came or sent to comfort him. MARCUS BRUTUS sent him a consolatory Letter, which CICERO himself frequently commends; but it is since unhappily lost. LUCIUS LUCCEIUS wrote another to him; JULIUS CÆSAR one, and at last he wrote a Consolation to himself: but the only one remaining is that of SERVIUS SULPITIUS, which I here subjoin for your perusal, wishing you long life and an uninterrupted happiness,

S E R V I U S S U L P I T I U S

T O

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

WHEN I was inform'd of your Daughter TULLIA's Death, I took it, as I ought, most grievously and heavily, esteeming
ing

ing it a common calamity. And if I had been there at that time, I had neither been wanting to you, nor yet have forbore to express my grief in your presence. Tho' this kind of Consolation be miserable and difficult, because the relations and acquaintance, who ought to afford it, are themselves afflicted with the same sorrow, and cannot endeavour to do it without many tears ; inso-much that they may seem rather to want being comforted by others, than to be able to perform this good office to any else : notwithstanding, what things offer themselves at present to my mind I determin'd to write to you briefly ; not that I think you ignorant of them, but that being hindred by your grief you may perhaps observe 'em the less.

Wherefore then should you be mov'd at that rate by your private sorrow ? Consider how fortune has dealt with us hitherto : and how all those things are taken away from us, which ought not to be less dear to men than their children ; I mean our Country, our Reputation, our Dignity, and all our Honors ? What could be added then to our affliction by this one misfortune ? or how can a mind disquieted with these things not grow callous, and set a lower value on all other matters ? But if (as I suppose) you lament her case, how often must you have hit on this thought, and I have not seldom done it, that in these times their fate is not the worst,

who may without much pain exchange their life for death? Now, what was it that could so greatly invite her to live at this time? what thing? what expectation? what pleasure of mind? Is it that she might spend her days in marriage with any of the principal youth? as I believe a person of your figure may pick and chuse a son-in-law among our young men, to whose care you might safely commit your daughter. Or is it that she might bear children, whom she would rejoice to see in their prime? who could wisely preserve the estate receiv'd from their parents? who should in their turns stand candidates for honorable posts in the government? who should make use of their liberty in the service of their friends? Now, which of all these was not taken away before it was given?

But you'll say it is a misfortune to lose our Children. A misfortune indeed, if it be not worst to be always afflicted and suffering on this account. What afforded me no small consolation I shall impart to you; for perhaps the same thing may contribute to diminish your grief. In my return from Asia, as I sail'd from Ægina towards Megara I begun to view all the regions on every hand of me; behind me was Ægina, Megara before me, on my right hand Piræus, and Corinth on my left; which cities were once in a most flourishing state, tho' now they lye scatter'd, and mangl'd in ruins before you.

Thus

Thus I begun therefore to meditate with my self: *Alas! why should we poor men be displeas'd that any of our number dyes or is kill'd, whose life is naturally short; when the carcasses of so many cities lye expos'd in one place! Do thou therefore refrain thy self, O Servius, and remember thou art born a man.* Believe me, I was not a little confirm'd by this thought. Do you likewise, if it seems good, set the same thing before your eyes. Late-ly so many famous persons were destroy'd at once; besides our Empire is so greatly diminish'd; all the Provinces are shaken, and are you so vehemently disturb'd at the death of one woman, who, if she had not departed now, must have dy'd notwithstanding within a few years, seeing she was born of human race?

Recall therefore your mind from these things to the knowledge of your self, and rather remember those matters that are becoming your person; namely, that she liv'd as long as it was needful for her, and expir'd together with the Commonwealth: that she saw you her father, a Prætor, a Consul, an Augur: that she was marry'd to a couple of our hopefullest young Gentlemen: that she had enjoy'd almost every good thing in the world: and left this life when our government was destroy'd. What is it then wherein you or she can in this respect complain of fortune? Finally, do not forget that you
are

are CICERO, and he that was wont to comfort and advise others: nor imitate bad Physicians, who profess great skill in the diseases of others, and cannot cure themselves; but rather call to your mind and propose to your self, what you are accustom'd in the like cases to prescribe other people.

There is no grief but length of time diminishes and softens; but for you to expect such a time, and not rather find a remedy for this matter from your own prudence, is unworthy. But if the very dead have any sense of our condition, such was the love she bore you, and her piety towards all her relations, that she requires none of your tears. Be rul'd then by your dead child; by the rest of your friends and acquaintance, who are griev'd for your sake; grant this favour to your country, that if there be any occasion, it may use thy assistance and advice: and lastly, since our hard fortune is such, and that we must act this complying part, do not suffer that any should suspect it is not so much your Daughter, as the bad times of the Commonwealth, and the victory of the opposite faction, that afflicts you.

I'm ashamed to write any more to you on this subject, lest I should seem to distrust your wisdom: wherefore, after offering you this one particular, I shall make an end of writing. We saw you sometimes bear your
prosperous

prosperous fortune excellently well, which procur'd you great commendations: let us now then be convinc'd that you can equally bear adversity, and that it seems no heavier burden to you than it ought; least of all virtues you should appear to want this single one. As for my self, when I know that you enjoy more tranquillity of mind, I shall acquaint you with the transactions of this place, and the condition of our Province.

Farewell.

ANTHONIO VAN DALE

S. P. D.

JO. TOLANDUS.

NON possum, vir celeberrime, non possum non te etiam atque etiam monere quanti ingenium & studia tua semper fecerim, nec quidem, ut frequenter evenire assolet, minuit præsentia famam: nam quæ in te summo opere elucent virtutes; mira scilicet comitas, exquisitissima doctrina, veritatis indagandæ desiderium cum libertatis tuendæ studio conjunctum, te mihi (quod vix possibile credebam fieri) chariorem adhuc multo reddiderunt. Pergas ergo, Archæologorum quot sunt quotvè erunt doctissime, iisdem tibi conciliare

conciliare modis omnes ingenuos, bonos, & cordatos: herculeo nitaris labore horrenda superstitionis in lucem pertrahere monstra, & non ferendum excutere sacerdotale jugum: demonstres non ovum ovo similius esse, quam se invicem referunt sacratæ recentium & antiquorum, quibus popello illudunt & imperitant, artes, fraudes, strophæ: fac videant ipsi hebetioris acuminis homines nullo pacto in mirandis fabulis, horrendis ambagibus, vel reconditis mysteriis, sed in vera virtute & solida scientia, situm esse summum mortalium bonum:

*Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque sequi, patriæque impendere
vitam,
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.*

Ut breviter dicam, fruatur quam cito literatus orbis aureis illis, quos de Romanorum & Græcorum Sacerdotiis elaborasti tractatibus: nec longius, quam par est, expectentur secundæ melioresque de Oraculis curæ, quibus evulgandis non magis tibi aliàs conterraneos meos devincire poteris.

Altero meo hospiti, viro dignissimo Domino DROSTIO, grates ago innumeras ob tot in me favores congestos, & quos ut bene sentio non mereri me potuisse, sic doleo. Commendatum me habeas, quæso, tam forma quam ingenio præstantissimæ virginis, Domi-

næ meæ COLARTIÆ, maximo Harlemi simul & naturæ miraculo. Inter pretiosissima reponam cimelia, quibus beare me dignata est munuscula; etsi adhuc vix mihi persuadere possum de veritate rerum earum quas tamen in dubio mihi revocare non licet, quarumque propriis auribus & oculis experimentum accepi.

Per literas quas hic ex Anglia accepi, intelligo Comitem PORTLANDIÆ huc certissimè venturum, Regem manere domi hac æstate, numerosam parari classem, Gallos nequaquam timendos, & Parliamentum nostrum in proximum annum esse prorogatum ut nostri loquuntur. Vale.

Nobilissimo Domino

J O. T O L A N D O

A. VAN DALE S. P. D.

ME tibi percharum esse maximè guadeo. At suffundis me tantis elogiis, quibus me minime dignum sentio, maximo pudore. Sumo tamen illa pro humanissima admonitione; ut coner talia, per quæ, si non laude, certe venia doctis ac cordatis viris dignus videar. O si liceret cum talibus, qualis tu nobilissime vir es, transigere mihi vitam! Nunc vivo, ubi dum bene facere studeo,

male

male tamen audio, unius ob noxam & facinus Ajacis Oilei. BEKKERUS nempe mihi amicus fuit. Certè si jam non senex essem, ac non uxoratus, mihiq; satis honesta ac qua satis commode subsistere queam, oblata esset in Anglia conditio, ibi vobiscum vivere ac mori liberet. Hic nullus eruditus honos: aut si aliquis adhuc sit, solis illis obtingit, qui summa cum patientia (licet simul summo cum tædio) servitutis pignus ferre dederunt, adulationiq; illorum, qui ipsis longe peiores sunt se bene assuescere valent.

Novellæ, quas mihi scripsisti, pergratæ sunt. At hic Harpocrati litandum; nisi apud tales, qualis tu nobiliss. vir, ac DROSTIUS noster. Reperies tamen & Amstelodami Nicodemitas. Ejusmodi moribus quippe hic nobis vivendum; nisi quibus ita vivere licet, ut aliis non indigeant. Ego interim, dum adulari nescio, tacitus fata mea fero; mihiq; magis magisq; circa talia impero. Verum plura de hisce coram, cùm per diem unum aut alterum adhuc simul vivere licebit.

Perillustri GRÆVIO, ut commendes me sicut desidero, ita nullus dubito.

Vale interim optime virorum: atq; ut jam coepisti, me amare pergas.

Harlemi 23 Maii 1699.

Peril-

Perillustri eruditione viro

GEORGIO JOANNI GRÆVIO

S. P. D.

A. VAN DALE M. D.

QUOD dudum volueram, sed vix tandem ausus sum, id jam occasione hac captata facere instituo; ut te scilicet super studiis meis consulam. Cum itaque vellet ad te transvolare nobilissimus Anglus Jo. TOLANDUS, oneravi ipsum meis nugis ad te sic perferendis. Non ipsum, celeberrime vir, tibi commendo; quod neminis commendatione indigeat: ipse enim sibi est optima ac maxima commendatio; at volo me per ipsum tibi commendari.

Verum ut ad rem accedam, est mihi nunc, post sacra Taurobolia, sub manibus tractatus illis subnectendus de Sacerdotiis, aliisque muneribus *ἐπωνύμοις* apud Græcos: qua occasione mihi plusquam centum Inscriptiones Græcæ partim explicandæ, partim illustrandæ, partim consulendæ aut perpendendæ veniunt; circa quas ut mihi plures occurrunt difficultates, sic tu mihi, celeberrime vir, super una atque altera consulendus es.

Ad te igitur, ut ad commune eruditorum oraculum confugio: nec tam λόγια atque obscura, quam illa fuerunt quæ ex Apollinis opertis prodibant, expecto. In ista igitur Inscriptione apud SPONIUM *p.* 356. *n.* 99. occurrit nobis primum ἀρχιερεὺς τριδαπολέων, quod fateor me non intelligere: unde ad Hierapolim mihi confugiendum hic videtur; atque ita reponere velim ἱεραπολίτων, quod videre mihi videar, si non ex STRABONE atque STEPHANO, VITRUVIO ac PLINO, certe ex hac Inscriptione illam ad Sardianos pertinuisse, cum idem L. J. BONNATUS, de quo hic mentio, simul Ἀρχιερεὺς τῆ Ἀσίας τῇ ἐν λυδία Σαρδιανῶν, fuerit. Secundò, mihi molestias creat ille ἀγωναθέτης διαρίαν, quem quoque non capio, nisi ad Gladiatores Diarios referendus sit. Nosti, optime vir, quam multa vocabula Latina nobis in Græcis inscriptionibus occurrant, ut πραιφεκτός, σαβδαρίον, φράγην ἀράλις, & nescio quæ non alia. Sic ergo crediderim τὰς διαρίας fuisse Gladiatores ipsos, qui certo die a Cæsaribus dato depugnabant: atque eo respicere non solum eam inscriptionem quæ a LIPSIO *l.* 1. Saturnal. producit; sed & illam quæ a GRUTERO *p.* 475. *n.* 3. exhibetur. Familias autem Gladiatorum suos procuratores, & minerrarios, & ἐπιστάτας, adeoque & ἀγωναθέτας habuisse, æque fere atque athletas, mihi ex inscriptionibus persuadeo.

Plura essent mihi quidem proponenda super aliis; at nauseam meis nugis tibi creare non

non audeo. Si videro hæc non nimis ingrata fuisse, proponam quoque quæ, cum super aliis, tum super *Archibucolo Dei Liberi*, tum super *Sacerdote Cereris Græca*, tum denique quæ super pluribus aliis concepi. Vellem namque cum minimo meo dedecore talia, nec nimis cruda, in orbem literarium protrudere. Atque, utinam mihi præsentī te consulere liceret! verum hic mihi subsistendum, ne tibi nimis ob nugas meas tædio fiam. Hoc tamen addam, *Oracula* mea nunc iterum sub Bomii prælo, non sudare, sed frigere, ac quidem ὕστερον πρῶτερον: prior enim Dissertatio agit de origine ac progressu, seu potius de auctoribus Oraculorum; posterior vero de ipsorum duratione atque interitu. Vale interim, celeberrime vir; atque hoc temporis tui dispendium mihi, quæso, benignè condones, dum tuus ex animo sicuti semper permaneo.

Dabam Harlemi, 24 Maii, 1699.

T O

Mr. * * *

London, June 26, 1705.

S I R,

BY the discourse we had together last week, I find you have lain under the same mistake with many others in relation to my circumstances; for I do no less po-
 X sively

sitively than sincerely assure you, that in my whole life, I had no relation whatsoever to my Lord SOMERS or my Lord HALIFAX, that I have no personal obligations to either of them, nor ever enter'd into any manner of transactions with themselves or on their behalf, either here at home, or any where abroad. As to my Politics, I ever was and will be for a free Government against what is arbitrary and despotic; which is to say, that I prefer standing and indifferent Laws to the uncertain and byast will of any Prince. But concerning the several forms of free Government (which are all good in their kinds, tho' not all equally so) I justly think our own mixt Constitution to be the best that is now extant any where. With these sentiments I came abroad into the world; but as no body's born inspir'd, so I am not asham'd to own, that I had not so much wisdom and discretion, as I had sincerity and zeal, in the management of my opinions. I thought every body meant what they said as well as my self; and therefore in the most public manner I promoted the party I had espous'd, without once considering that their adversaries wou'd all very naturally become my enemies; nor did I take any care to ballance that opposition by procuring potent friends elsewhere. Besides what I wrote my self, I likewise publish'd the Lives and Works of HARRINGTON and MILTON, with some other Authors; and tho' I profess not to agree with
them

them in every thing (especially in their Democratical Schemes of Government) yet in general they greatly contributed to beget in the minds of men, as the effect has shewn, an ardent love of liberty, and an extreme aversion to arbitrary power. This was reckon'd a public service, but rewarded only with the public applauses of such as approv'd the undertaking ; while the other side had the most specious pretext imaginable to represent me, what yet in their sense I was not, a most violent Republican.

But, SIR, you'll scarce conceive my surprise, when by degrees I begun to discover, that certain persons, of whom I hitherto entertain'd a high opinion, meant nothing by the Public but themselves ; and my wonder was yet greater when I perceiv'd so many others, wiser and abler than these, contentedly become the mean tools of their avarice or ambition, being their exchange or coffee-house heralds, and the trumpeters of their praises in all public meetings. This made me quickly distinguish between men and things, between professions and performances ; and it remain'd no longer a mystery to me, why they were fonder of employing and preferring footmen, bankrupts, poets, players, and pettyfoggers, than men of family, learning, ability, or virtue : because the first wou'd not scruple to do unexamin'd, what the last might reject with detestation or contempt, and ne-

ver come under such engagements as the others wou'd be sure both to promise and to perform; besides that they cou'd not bear any rivals to their reputed capacity, which made 'em discountenance the best spirits of their own party. Three or four Bills in Parliament did quite take the scales from my eyes. And who, I pray, cou'd endure to hear any Whigs oppose the Judge's Bill, the Triennial Bill, the Bill for regulating Tryals in cases of High Treason, and such like? when in the preceding Reigns they loudly call'd for these, as the very Laws of Nature, wherein they were most certainly in the right. Their reasons against these excellent Statutes were worse than even their opposition, as if the Whigs only ought to enjoy the benefit of wholesome regulations, and as if the Tories might reasonably suffer under brib'd Judges and perpetual Parliaments. As a judgment of God, the Tories might justly come under these punishments for promoting them formerly against others, without considering how another time (as it happen'd) it might be their own turn to feel the smart of such severities; but this partiality was strangely unbecoming the Whigs, who by their constant principles ought to be patrons of the Liberty of mankind. I was not a little scandaliz'd to find 'em, when all other colours fail'd, pretend they were against these Laws, because the Tories were for 'em, to serve their own purposes: for 'tis no matter who is for a good thing,

thing, nor for what ends, provided the thing it self be truly useful and necessary ; tho' no excuse is to be made for men of good principles to appear for a bad thing ; especially if they clearly perceive the ill of it, and have so declar'd it themselves before.

The business of the standing Army finish'd all, tho' I am far from being against an Army whenever our circumstances indispensably require it. By that time I understood so much of men and things, as most plainly to foresee that the endeavouring to gain that dangerous and invidious point, wou'd in the minds of the people quite ruin the credit of the Whig-Ministry. For this, I own, I was not sorry ; but I was afraid that thro' their sides the cause of Liberty wou'd suffer, as very manifestly it did. Nevertheless those persons, in order to make their own court and fortunes, did violently insist on that matter, so displeasing to the nation, and so directly opposite to their own declar'd principles and profession. It became the very test (as they wou'd have it) of Whig and Tory, when they were all Whigs that wrote against it, tho' I will not say, they all had the same views, no more than all the Tories in opposing it in Parliament ; but, as others are convinc'd that this controversy serv'd more truly for a test to discover the inside of those quack Ministers, and their worthless Tools, and to undeceive those who before this time had more favourable

nable thoughts of both, but now call'd their ability in question no less than their integrity. What changes, what Parliaments, what measures ensu'd, you well know, and all thinking men did expect. Yet so enrag'd were these undertakers at their surprizing disappointment, that they never forgave those Whigs, who had the honesty and firmness to adhere to their old principles. Uncertain men they call'd such as they durst not irritate too much; and those they had less reason to fear (among which I had the misfortune to be one) they either branded for Tories among the credulous herd, or represented as men of none or unsettl'd principles, and all were unsettl'd that wou'd not go thro' stich. Neither of these are to be ever pardon'd for rendring their hopeful projects abortive. However I am sorry they are such bad Christians as not to forgive real or imaginary offences against them; or such bad Politicians as to think themselves infallible, incapable of committing any errors or mistakes, and not as liable as others to the reverses of fortune, which may occasion the want of useful friends. Yet to this hour they cannot discern their friends from their flatterers, but prosecute the former with all the contumely and ill offices they are capable. And, believe me, SIR, this perverse disposition makes hundreds of Whigs to desire that, however these Gentlemen set up for Liberty (which they wish long to continue) yet they may
never

never be the guardians of it: and 'tis but natural that they shou'd endeavour to keep the power out of those hands who have the will to hurt them; especially since there are so many fit and able persons in the Nation, under all distinctions, who never approved of their maxims or practices (some of which are lately employ'd, as the Duke of NEWCASTLE and others,) men who were either never tainted with notions of arbitrary Power, or at least were never engaged in arbitrary Proceedings; and who are most unlikely to be seduc'd or corrupted hereafter by reason of their great quality, plentiful fortunes, and honest principles.

But, leaving such Affairs to her Majesty's wisdom, I proceed to tell you, SIR, that the persevering Whigs on the other hand, were always ready to prefer the public good to their private resentments; nay, they were content to wink at those needy Minister's indirect methods of scraping for estates at home, so long as to secure them they wou'd be zealous and vigorous against our enemies abroad: and therefore when the cause of Whiggism was thought to be attack'd in those Gentlemen's persons, they cordially defended them against the prosecution of their enemies; which service they did 'em with more success, I am sure with a better grace than their sworn creatures and mercenary dependents. The thanks that I in particular had for my

pains, was to be most falsely represented by them not only at home but abroad; at the same time that I was exhorted by my real friends to forget all personal injuries, and not to complain, if I should not think fit to commend. The Tories were against me of course; and I cannot blame the Jacobites for being so, if any reasons can be given to justify the defence of a bad Cause. But those who pass for Tories, without being Jacobites, are perfectly misinform'd about me, and if they knew how I represented them at Hanover, and in Holland, as being really for the Succession, and in what matters I was of opinion they deserv'd to be oblig'd, they wou'd undoubtedly believe me no enemy of theirs, how little I might thereby befriend my self: for words are but wind (as they say) and therefore names go for nothing with me, where men's actions demonstrate 'em to be true Englishmen; since healing of breaches, and enlarging the foundation, ought to be only a good Countryman's design. But such a temper in any man is what certain great persons detest above all things, because they can only hope to make a considerable figure in some narrow-bottom'd faction; whereas in a conjunction of all who agree in the Protestant Religion and Succession (however they may disagree in such trivial matters as forms or ceremonies) their tinsel abilities wou'd be quickly obscur'd by the shining merit and solid worth of very many Gentlemen in all parties.

From

From these several Considerations you may easily infer, that in the first year of her Majesty's reign, being a stranger abroad and friendless at home, I must needs have been in a very uncertain condition, were not the high-born persons, under whose protection I then liv'd, proof against all misrepresentations, and that they judg'd of things from their own knowledge and not by the passions of others, to which they are not so great strangers as they are thought or wou'd seem. 'Twas happy for me, they had this generous disposition: for at one and the same time I had a Tory Secretary of State writing Letters against me to foreign Courts as Agent to the Whigs, if not obnoxious to the Laws; and certain leading Whigs were persuading the same Princes that I was Mr. HARLEY'S Creature, which was a higher crime by far than being a Tory. But I protest to you, SIR, by all that's awful, that I have not spoke one word to Mr. HARLEY, nor receiv'd one Letter or Message from him, nor sent any to him, since King WILLIAM died. And in this particular I frankly confess, that from prudential considerations I acted by constraint against my own judgment; I mean in breaking off conversation and correspondence with a person of signal abilities, and excellent learning, by whom a man in my circumstances cou'd mightily improve, as before I freely acknowledge to have done. But this affected strangeness was merely

ly to prevent the vile aspersions of others either against him or my self, which yet I was not able to accomplish: tho' I did as little approve as any whatsoever such things, if any there were, as I thought in Mr. HARLEY might proceed from private resentments to the detriment of the public Good. Yet I wholly did and do approve the sense he then had of our corrupt Ministry, and thank him for the strenuous efforts he made to dissolve it. But, in the mean while, I find my condition to be like that of your coquet Ladies, who tast all the bitter of the scandal without enjoying any of the sweets of the sin. I past for Mr. HARLEY's friend, when he was opposed by the Court, and now that he's in power I'm inform'd that by the suggestion of certain Scots and a Dutchman, he takes me for his enemy; tho' his real unforgiving enemies will have me still to be his favorite, and oppose me now on that very score.

With relation to another very great man, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH; I own that having known nothing of him but by the report of others, and being misled by appearances of a conjunction between him and the most violent Tories, from whence I reasonably apprehended danger to the Succession in the beginning of this reign, I gave my self in Holland, at Berlin and elsewhere some liberties in speech, for which upon
better

better information I have amply aton'd, doing him all the justice possible wherever I had injur'd him. And since his Grace has perform'd such extraordinary services for his Country (which have contributed not only to reconcile and endear him to all true patriots, but also to undeceive all well-meaning, tho' mistaken persons; and that his actions are an effectual demonstration of his good intentions to the Succession, whereof the Court of Hanover it self never doubted) he has the means in his power of discerning the sincerity of all who pretend to honor his worth; considering especially the open enmity and scurrilous usage he meets at present from many, who were his Flatterers and past for his Admirers before. The very ground of their caresses (as their behaviour undeniably proves) was a presum'd aversion in his Grace to the Protestant Succession of the House of Hanover, which they were far from making a secret till this last year, when their fairest hopes were so happily and so gloriously defeated.

As for my Lords N*** and R*** (for I am resolv'd to be so plain and particular, as not to trouble you with a second Letter on this subject) the first had a personal pique against me, the Ministry of the second was dreaded abroad yet more than at home, and I am so averse to the Designs of both the men, that there was no friendship or favour to be

3

expected

expected from that quarter, and so none was ever desir'd. To say it then in a word, my support has been owing to the generosity and esteem of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, and certain other worthy persons at home, together with some help from Germany; and not in whole or in part deriv'd from my Lord SOMERS, Lord HALIFAX, or any other Ministers. The Duke of NEWCASTLE has been my true friend; and, since I had the honor to be known to his Grace, he has been constantly infusing into me sentiments of peace and moderation, the profoundest respect for the Queen's Majesty and Government, and a largeness of soul towards all denominations of Englishmen, that wou'd agree in the support of her Title and the legal Succession; notwithstanding any difference of opinion in other matters, whether of Church or State. To this disposition experience had already brought me without his honest advice, and if enabl'd, I shall make it plainly appear in the whole conduct of my life.

Thus I have given you, SIR, the true reasons why I have not been hitherto put into any Employment, nor ever yet su'd for one to any Party. Whether it be a vanity to own it, I know not, but it wou'd certainly be a false modesty to conceal it from you, that I thought my self neglected and ill-used by the Whig-Ministers (as they were call'd)
which

which without all question has begot suitable resentments against their persons, but no dislike of the Cause in which they pretend to be engag'd, which is the cause of human nature, and consequently mine as well as theirs. You need not wonder therefore any longer that I made no application (since they say I was never deny'd) where the terms imported to become a tool at least, and what the most is I forbear now to mention. But I was once so sensible of their unworthy treatment, that I digested the heads of a Paper, which I intended to call *Advice to the Whigs against the time they are next in power*, wherein I wou'd shew the true Whigs the several slights and failings of those Gentlemen, what a discredit they brought thereby on the Party and danger to Liberty ; that they were the occasion of any disaffected person's getting into the Administration, and that they were by no means fit to head a Party, tho' they might be proper enough to promote or undermine one : in the service I think they ought always to be kept, and therefore to be always fed in hopes. But I made no progress to reduce that Paper into method, and God knows if ever I do : for all I have repeated and much more I cou'd forgive, tho' not be able to forget, provided the peace of my Country requir'd it.

The present Lord Treasurer is a person I never offended in word or writing, tho' in

the Art of governing by Parties, which I wrote some years ago, I have shortly but justly characteriz'd all the other great men (with some more) I have nam'd in this Letter, except Mr. HARLEY. This, you may be sure, cou'd not proceed from a foresight of his being one day, as he is at present, first Minister; but is a pure effect of his merit in the discharge of his trust as a public person; for in all other respects he's to me a perfect stranger, tho' neither the name nor imputation of any Party cou'd prejudice me against him, according to the part I have a good while acted, which is reckon'd lukewarm by the pretended Whigs; and yet most violent by the worst Tories, but in time, perhaps, may be *vice versa*. Now, tho' I never yet did so to any other, yet to him I find my self most readily dispos'd to apply in any manner, that he shall think me fit to serve the Queen or himself; for I am certain before hand, that it will be on such a foot as is agreeable to my principles, and for the particular benefit of the Succession. Tho' they have done whatever they cou'd to ruin me in all people's opinion, yet I commend the measures his Lordship takes with those abdicated Ministers; but then let him always remember the late Lord SUNDERLAND, and consider whether they did not owe more to him, notwithstanding their ungrateful returns, for which, however, they have deservedly smarted ever since. Neither am I apprehensive

henfive that fo wife a man ſhould receive haſty impreſſions againſt me as being too open, when I had no ſecrets to keep, or buſineſs to manage; nor as being too bookiſh, when I had no other employment for my thoughts or time, notwithstanding the artful inſinuations of certain people in the world. 'Tis but putting me to the tryal. And might my own advice be heard in an affair that concerns me ſo nearly, I wou'd not deſire any public eſtabliſhment for ſome time, 'till my Patron had got experience of my fitness and ability, as well as that I might have an opportunity of curing certain prejudices in others which have done me much diſſervice, and which I never endeavour'd to prevent, becauſe it was never worth my while. You'll wonder all this time, that I have not mentioned the Church which is ſo much exaſperated againſt me; but as that is indeed the heavielt article, and the leaſt excuſable, being matter of pure ſpeculation, yet 'tis undoubtedly the eaſieſt conquer'd, and I know the infallible method of doing it: but of this in particular among our ſelves.

I wou'd therefore go at preſent to Germany, as before I intended by encouragement from thence, and keep a conſtant weekly correſpondence with his Lordſhip, not only according to his Inſtructions, but likewise as to all Obſervations of my own, I ſhou'd think deſerving his curioſity or notice. I ſhou'd remain ſometimes at Berlin, or Caſſel, or Deſſau,

fau, that it might not be said I was more at Hanover than elsewhere, or that I was sent by any man or party thither; but my interest there is so good, and they have such an opinion of my diligence and affection, that when absent I shou'd know all that past there and cou'd communicate what I thought fit to them from other places, as well as when I found it convenient to be upon the spot. This I fancy wou'd be of some advantage both for the Queen's service and theirs, and the secret shall be kept by me inviolable, so long as it shall be thought necessary so to do; for I have pretences enough to go into that Country on my own account, as to make an ampler Description of it, or for any other plausible intent. For my Appointment, I shall be well content that it be paid me quarterly, and that it be continued no longer than I shall be judg'd to deserve the same or a better.

Whether such a person, SIR, who is neither Minister nor Spy, and as a lover of Learning will be welcome every where, may not prove of extraordinary use to my Lord Treasurer as well as to his predecessor BURLEIGH who employ'd such, I leave his Lordship and you to consider. As for the service and gratitude I shou'd owe to his family no less than to himself, they are better understood than exprest; since it is not words but deeds that must do the latter, and that there can be no deeds without an opportunity. My friends on t'other side of the
Sea

Sea with me impatiently there; and even in my Lord N***'s time, notwithstanding his Memorials, the Electress proferr'd to do something for me in a public manner, were I but recommended by any considerable persons, as I'll shew you by express Letters: for she believ'd (and I suppose not without reason) that I was strangely misrepresented to the Queen, with whom she justly desir'd, as she ever will do, to be upon the best terms she cou'd, and so durst do nothing openly in my behalf. Nevertheless, her Royal Highness knew better than any body that it was impossible I should not be most hearty for her Majesty's Title and Government, or be perfectly inconsistent and the falsest creature in the world to my own principles, and regardless of that Succession for which I profess so much zeal, and which I had publish'd to the world as the greatest happiness, not only to England, but to the liberty of Europe in general. I can make no other apology for the length of this Letter, but that it saves you the trouble of many more, and that in a narrower compass I cou'd not give a full and satisfactory answer to all your Questions, which yet may be all reduc'd to these two, why I was not employ'd before, and how I wou'd be employ'd at present?

I am, SIR,

your most oblig'd and humble servant.

T O

Mr. * * *

December 14, 1705.

SIR,

ALL this time I have been a silent but not an idle Spectator. Publick matters go exactly according to my wishes, and not otherwise than I expected from this Ministry, which (I hope) in the principal supports and springs of it is inviolably united: and then the ornamental or subservient parts may be alter'd or amended at leisure. It is no small satisfaction to me, that the judgment of the Queen, the Parliament, and the Ministry, do so unanimously concur with the Book, which (under your protection) I have publish'd for their service; and which has met with all the success and reputation that any Author cou'd wish, tho' he had declar'd his name, as I have been far from doing even to those I have oblig'd. It had the honour to be attributed by good judges to several eminent persons, and among the rest to you; where it had most certainly fix'd, were it not for the Character given therein of your self, in which particular, the world believ'd that you wou'd be less just and more reserv'd, than any of your servants, friends, or admirers. Among persons of an inferior rank I have been nam'd (as I understand) by many; but,

for want of good information, 'twas always with some doubting, wherein I am still determin'd to leave 'em. As for any thing in the Book not just according to your sentiments, which perhaps may happen in a point or two, you'll have the goodness to consider that I wanted opportunity to consult you personally, for doubtless your special Directions, or the honour of your Conversation at leisure hours, wou'd have made it another guess piece; I having finish'd it in a very few days, without any to advise me but Mr. P***, being in the country, and not master of time enough to polish the very language.

Now, SIR, I have form'd another Design, which may be as seasonable, useful, and necessary as the first; and therefore as well for that, as for some other reasons, I humbly and earnestly beg the favour of one half hour's Discourse with you, wherever or in what manner you please to appoint; for I can come by water, or at any time in the night. I wou'd not give you any trouble of this kind, while my friend Mr. P*** was absent, that I might not be oblig'd to make use of any other name. There's no time to be lost, and I am ambitious to have the next Piece without a fault; which I shall judge it to be, if it has but your concurrence or approbation. Having sent one of the first (under the feign'd name of Mr. FREEMAN) to Mr. SHOWER the Dissent-

ing Minister, I receiv'd the Answer which I send you inclos'd, and more such from other hands: all assuring me that *The Memorial of the State of England* was the true state of the case, had less trifling, and more impartiality than any Book that had yet appear'd on the subject. I flatter my self you'll not wholly impute it to vanity, that I give you this account of a work, which in some sense may be call'd your own, as in every sense I am, SIR, with the greatest sincerity and zeal,

Your most faithful, humble, and obedient Servant.

Mr. SHOWER's Letter *on receiving the Memorial of the State of England, as a Present from the unknown Author.*

Clerkenwell, Oct. 24, 1705.

S I R,

THE kind Present I receiv'd on Monday night, viz. *The Memorial of the State of England*, appears to me to be the most judicious and seasonable of any thing lately printed. 'Tis the real state of our case set in a true light, with excellent judgment and eloquence; very likely to open the eyes, and calm the minds of many. I shall most gladly do what I can to promote the spreading of it;

it; and accordingly desire twenty five may be sent me per first, and shall pay the porter the Bookseller's price, and so dispose of 'em, as to occasion the buying and reading of a much greater number. If the other Ministers nam'd have read it, I doubt not but their sentiments are the same with mine, tho' I have not had the opportunity to see either of 'em. SIR, I reckon it an honour to have been thought worthy of such a present; and 'twill be an additional one to kiss the hands of him who sent it, and express my thanks and esteem and unfeign'd respect, of which I hereby assure him, who am, SIR, his most oblig'd humble Servant,

JOHN SHOWER.

My Aversion and Inclination :

IN A LETTER

To Mrs. D * * *

YOU send me news indeed, MADAM, that Dame SCRAG that unparallel'd original, imagines I am deeply smitten with her; by reason of some expressions in a Letter of mine to the Reverend Doctor, our common acquaintance. But that Gentleman and I dealing wholly in mysteries of one kind or
 Z 3 another,

another, I'll then allow her to comprehend my meaning, whenever she has a particular revelation either from him or me. But you say the same thing was confirm'd to her by one, who has an unlucky talent at writing merry Ballads and waggish Lampoons; nay, that he insinuated much more than he thought fit to say. Such a heroic accomplishment is enough, I confess, to beget a terrible idea of that wight, in the breasts of all those Ladies who blush as soon as they hear him nam'd; which are the foolish, the frail, and the fickle, the tattlers, the dawbers, the modish, and the coquets, to all which I know her Ladyship to be a perfect stranger. These characters will reach nevertheless to a world of other women; which makes me wonder, that the adventurous Poet does not put all the timorous fair under contribution; which wou'd be a surer way of enriching himself, than by dabbling (as he does now) in Politics, or by drudging (as he did before) in Trade. I don't say, and you won't think, that on any account whatsoever, her Ladyship shou'd either pay her quota to him in coin, or be frighted by his Satyr to quit any of her humors, which are dearer to some women than the most precious of their jewels: but in the particular you mention, she's certainly more afraid than hurt, or rather, not being hurt, is the reason she's not afraid; since the scandal (if any was intended) must be entirely meant to me, which yet I easily forgive, because none
will

will believe it. But, in the name of aversion, what have I done to occasion this suspicion? for what have I not left undone to prevent it? Yet if it must needs be added to the punishment of my other sins, let it be said at least, that I suffer for a sin of omission; since in all probability I wou'd take care not to be over intimately concern'd, unless with some of your sly Gypsies that can keep a secret, such as rarely shew their admirer's Letters, and that never boast of the number of their conquests. But I appeal to her Ladyship, if setting aside some roguish expressions, which I know to be one of her favourite diversions, I be not the most harmless thing in the world as to deeds; and I am ready to take my corporal oath, that she was never one moment the object of my thoughts.

However, lest her Ladyship should be ever so little discompos'd at so ungrounded a surmise, and that I may ruin my self all at once with some other Darlings of mine (meaning the venerable society of vain and wanton Widows; the honourable company of Virgins, that have large fortunes and small understandings; with the faded skins, and cherry-cheeks of both sorts) I need but tell them in one emphatical word, that I have engag'd my heart: or, to use a longer form, since they love chat, that I shall be constant to merit in the person of one excellent creature; and then the very old Maids themselves, will

cry out upon me for an old fashion'd lover. Trust me, MADAM, this is a more infallible receipt to get rid of what's importunate or impertinent, than ever was invented for driving away troublesome flies. It will effectually lose me the reputation of intriguing, which I have ever carefully avoided; nor will I gain a little by it in another way, I shan't be apt to tell you at this time. And now if you wou'd either know my sure preservative against all mean temptations, or how my inclinations stand towards some of your other female acquaintance, be pleas'd to learn from my own pen the Character of my real or imaginary Mistress; for as to the design of this Letter, 'tis no matter whether it be a present Mistress or a future.

I assure you therefore in the first place, that she ever thinks before she speaks, tho' she never speaks half she thinks; which you'll say, is very much in either man or woman. You know already who she is not. But then, as she betrays no folly by giggling laughter, nor any malice by leering smiles, so she can be very brisk and chearful in conversation, without poorly lessening, or scandalously abusing her friends. Her prudent observations (join'd to moderate reading) will never let her be at a loss, when 'tis her turn to entertain the company; tho' she's far from being the monster they call a Learned Lady, or from thinking her self oblig'd to furnish all the talk
and

and diversion: for she never becomes the subject of discourse to others, but as she's the admiration of the good, or the envy of the bad; and even these last are sometimes heard to praise her, in order to pass themselves the better with their neighbours for sincere or judicious persons. She avoids ill company as carefully as she does their faults: but if by accident or mistake she happens to be engag'd in such, (as who can always prevent it) she behaves her self so cautiously, as neither to disoblige them, nor to scandalize others; yet leaving them without any hopes of receiving a second visit, and the rest of the world without any just cause of reflection. She has wit and beauty to make her be passionately lov'd in youth, as she has sense and virtue to make her be honourably esteem'd in old age: and she despises as much the nauseous flatteries of pretending coxcombs, as she values the disinterested commendations of the wise and good, whom she studiously imitates. Her Religion lyes not in her tongue, but in her heart: and the outward performances of it do no more consist in precisely lifting up her eyes to heaven, at the same time that she curtsies to the rake or the fop in the next pew; than the private duties of it are reading loose Poems, placing of paint and patches, consulting the oracle of the bottle, or using certain other amusements in the closet, from which several come out more boisterous Devils, than they went in demure

demure Hypocrites. But the inoffensiveness of her manners, the evenness of her temper, the charitableness of her disposition, and the clearness of her whole conduct, make her be blest and admir'd for her goodness wheresoever she comes; so that the properest prayer for discreet Matrons, is to wish night and day, that their own Daughters may be like her. To be as short as I can in a very long Letter, she's genteel without affectation, gay without levity, civil to strangers without being free, and free with her acquaintance without being familiar.

I am convinc'd that those Ladies who judge of other's inclinations by their own, and who have reason to wish all women were like themselves, wou'd be ready to say, (if they saw my Letter) that this is an imaginary Mistress; tho' if I had but her permission, I cou'd with pleasure tell you her name, and defy their worst malice to find a tittle in the description, which is not outdone by the original. Yes, MADAM, there is in reality such a Lady somewhere; tho' I am so far from pretending to a return of mutual love, that I cannot even say I ever made her a positive declaration. Yet as to the mere Character, I'm sure for the honor of your sex you'll make no scruple to believe it. But then, for the honor of ours, I expect you'll likewise believe, that secure of such a one's person and affection, I wou'd rather undergo

undergo poverty and disgrace, accept of the woods for my lodging with the old Knights-errant, and be content with roots for my daily food ; than being coupl'd (like the living and the dead) with any of a different stamp, to possess riches and favour, to feed continually on exquisite dainties with the modern heroes, and to pass all my time in gilded palaces. And tho' I have no reason to doubt but she has a handsome fortune (for this I'd scorn to examine) yet I heartily rejoice that she's none of your vast estates; lest she should imagine from the conduct of most other men, that one sordid arrow tipt with her gold, had mingl'd with those purer rays which are shot from her eyes. This you may take for romantic language, tho' of you in particular I have a better opinion : and others, whose good opinion I shou'd be sorry to deserve, will call it a generous folly. But I, who know that true happiness is inward tranquillity and not outward pageantry, condemn the judgment of the multitude when it comes in competition with my own experience : my pleasure and repose by no means precariously depending on what others think, or say, or do : but solidly consisting in what I my self do feel, and relish, and enjoy.

Now, that I may a little shift the scene, I'll say that for Dame SCRAGG, she's wonderful sagacious to smell out an Amour before it is conceiv'd,

conceiv'd, and at such a terrible distance too. But since to clear my self to her Ladyship from the imputation of being her admirer (which I wou'd not do to any other woman on earth) is the main design of this long Letter; I need not (I suppose) give you any further trouble, than only to tell you, that I am, with as much gratitude for your information, as esteem for your friendship,

MADAM,

Your most faithful and obedient servant.

TO THE SAME.

ILately made you my confidante, MADAM, so far as to own I have a Mistress: and, tho' lovers are commonly liars, yet you may safely take my word for it, when I say, I am so well pleas'd with the choice, that I continually bless the day, the hour, the place, where so sweet and charming a creature had the secret (and 'twas no small one) to make her self the sole object of all my care and wishes. 'Twas no distrust of you, but want of leave from her, that made me shy of telling her name: but having communicated her Character to you then, I now send you her Picture, to see whether you judge as truly of the one as you did of the other. When you know the Lady, you'll swear I

4

have

have not flatter'd her ; but nevertheless, MADAM, I assure you the piece is surprizingly like, for the impressions she has made, are too deep and lively ever to be forgot. Yet if the copy should not reach the original (as indeed it cannot) my skill in drawing must not be blam'd, but her unparallel'd perfections, which are inimitable as they are innumerable.

To represent her therefore in miniature, her person is absolutely unexceptionable, as being the golden mean between two very disagreeable extremes; not approaching that monstrous tallness which presently begets aversion, and as far from that lowness of stature, which generally occasions contempt. Her carriage is graceful without affectation, and easy without neglect, which makes an undress or any kind of dress equally becoming her : but so, that in whatever manner she appears, it's always thought by others to be out of design, as finding it for that time and occasion the most proper. Her shape is exactly proportion'd to her person, neither ridiculously molded into nothing with squeezing engines, nor yet in the least over-grown for want of care : but just as it shou'd be, enough to convince a man that he embraces a delicate woman, and is not vainly grasping at an airy phantom. Her hair is incomparably fine, extremely thick, and of a light ash-colour, which makes it the greatest ornament in the world, as partaking at once of
whatever

whatever is enflaming in the brown and softening in the fair. Her teeth are as even and white, and her hands as taper and genteel, as one of the correctest fancy cou'd wish in his own mistress, and the nicest wou'd not expect to find more in any other. Her lips are the native seat of all the smiles and the graces; insomuch that the Bee (which she gave me for a device) wou'd take 'em for the most beautiful flower in nature, it wou'd gladly dwell in the pretty dimples of her cheeks, and suck honey from her sweetest mouth for ever. Her complection is, in my opinion, wholly divine, and what of all others I infinitely prefer; fresh as the glories of the spring, and fair as the pride of autumn. Lilies and Roses are but faint poetick resemblances of those colours in her lovely face, which so admirably express all the charms of blooming youth, all the symptoms of perfect health, and all that mixture of fire and phlegm, without which Love were but a lazy dream, and life it self a burthen. In her dear eyes shine all that's ingenious, gay, or engaging. No magick is half so enchanting. No magnetick power is near so attractive. No shafts can hit more sure or deeper; as at the same time no art can bring a more ready cure, nothing but themselves having the virtue to heal those wounds they occasion: nor does their colour put me less in mind of heaven than their glory. Her forehead, her chin, her eyebrows, and all the rest of her features, are
exactly

exactly regular; and singly or united are capable to charm the whole world, making young men mad, old men fools, and all women envious. 'Tis better to say nothing of her breast than not to say enough, or in some proportion to the transporting subject, those heaving adorable twins of the most refin'd and unspeakable delights. But this is much better expressed by imagination, and is a bliss to be touch'd, but never to be thoroughly describ'd. Nor do I question the excessive perfections of those other beauties, which the troublesome disguise of garments hide from my longing eyes; and which as I have not seen I cannot pretend to paint, nor wou'd if I were able, since it is the highest ambition of my heart, that these may be only seen, admir'd, and possess'd by my self. This inestimable blessing wou'd quickly render me the happiest man alive; as she wou'd become the happiest of women, if a thorough knowledge of her worth, and the most disinterested affection for her person, cou'd possibly make her so.

These, MADAM, are but the external lines, and only the cover of a yet fairer soul, whence (according to old observation) the valuable-ness of the jewel may be guess'd by the richness of the case. Her good breeding, good humour, and good sense, I have already describ'd in her Character: and, where these are, no other good thing can be wanting.

Now

Now I hope you'll own, that in sending you this rough draught of my Mistress's Picture, I have sent you at the same time a sufficient justification of my own passion; having inviolably resolv'd to love her only to my last breath (which she alone can hinder) with all the ardor of the youngest man, and with all the constancy of the oldest philosopher. In short, MADAM, that Mistress alone I wou'd make a wife, of whom I think in this manner; and she (I think) ought to make that Lover alone her husband, who thus thinks of her: for tho' other things may render Matrimony splendid, 'tis only this can make it happy. I have nothing more to add, but that her name is A, B, C, D.

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

IN answer to yours of Saturday last, be pleas'd to know, that the Seven Provinces coming to a stricter Union than that of Utrecht (the foundation of their Republic) it was unanimously agreed in the year 1583, that the exercise of the Protestant Religion alone shou'd be publicly establish'd, while other Sects should be onely tolerated, and Popery conniv'd at. This is the only Law, with

with relation to the religious qualification of Magistrates, that ever was made in the Provinces from that time to this: and that *Reformata Religio* did signify therein the Lutherans as well as the Calvinists at the time of making this Law, and that it is understood of the Arminians no less than of the Gomarists since that time, I shall have no difficulty to convince you; just in the sense, I say, that Reform'd Churches signifies all these in one Liturgy. For, tho' Reform'd or Calvinist, is now us'd commonly abroad in contradistinction to Evangelic or Lutheran; yet, at the time of making the Law aforesaid, it comprehend'd the whole body of those who made the Bible their only rule of faith, and who join'd in rejecting the Idolatry and Superstitions of Popery, together with the Supremacy of the Pope. As a proof of this, among abundance of others, several of the leading men, men of the greatest authority, and who had their share in making this very Law, were profess'd Lutherans: most of the cities of the Provinces were then full of Lutherans, who were admitted to Magistracy equally with the Calvinists: and Lutheranism, in short, was the prevailing profession of diverse places for some time after the enacting of this Law, particularly of the city of Worden; whose inhabitants came afterwards to change of their own accord, without any positive or negative discouragements to influence them.

As for the Arminians, or Remonstrants, who truly account themselves, and are no less accounted by others, to be Reform'd or Protestants; 'tis certain that they are by no means excluded from Magistracy, neither by the Law of the year 1583, when this distinction was not known, nor by any Law since: and at this very time many of 'em partake of the most considerable posts, being the prevailing Party in several places, as they are reputed to be so in the supreme Government it self; and, whenever you require it, I shall acquaint you with their names, being also willing to give you particular proofs of every other thing which I have hitherto asserted. Indeed at certain junctures, as, for example, under the late glorious King WILLIAM, (to whom the Arminians were no friends, by reason of their aversion to any Stadtholder) they were prudently kept out of offices, but not excluded by any Law: as those of the Church of England, who are disaffected to the present Settlement, are very justly kept out of places, tho' otherwise qualifying themselves by the sacramental Test. This, and no other, has been precisely the case of the Arminians in Holland: and the Anabaptists (who are unquestionably Protestants) are no otherwise excluded, than as they exclude themselves by their notions of Magistracy and the use of the sword; several of 'em being employ'd where their Consciences will permit 'em to serve, and particularly in the

the city of Amsterdam. I speak all this time of civil offices, for all the public Churches are to be only serv'd by Ministers who subscribe the Synod of Dort; with liberty, as I said, to others, who pay their own Ministers.

To His Grace

My Lord Archbishop

O F

C A N T E R B U R Y.

May it please Your Grace,

MOnsieur DUBOURDIEU gave me an account how favourably your Grace was pleas'd to receive the Book I took the liberty to send you; which I esteem not only as an extraordinary obligation; but (considering my character in the world, which is not what at present I deserve) I look upon it as a demonstration of that Christian goodness and greatness of spirit, with which you are acknowledg'd by all good men, to support and adorn your high Station in the Church. The same reverend person, who was not wanting to me at several times in his friendly and charitable admonitions, has further acquainted me with what he promis'd on my behalf to your Grace, and which I shall always,

A a 2

by

by the help of God, endeavour to make good; being firmly resolv'd in this laudable purpose both by principle and engagement. He has been a witness for two years past of my ordinary conversation, which he'll own to be very different from what it has formerly been, and is still represented to be by those who do not know me, or are not willing I shou'd make a better use of my reason and experience: for I am sorry to say what I cou'd not chuse but observe, that some people wou'd rather see a man, who is averse to their enslaving Politics, run the risk of working his own damnation and endangering the souls of others, than to be exempt from their censure or revenge on the score of Religion, when they cannot otherwise attack him. Whoever is loyal and orthodox in the State, is with them a Heretick or a Traitor in the Church, let his life and doctrine be ever so unblameable.

But if I can be so happy, My Lord, as to approve my self to the best, I shall reckon it no misfortune to meet with reproaches from the worst, which is a part of my duty no less to bear than to forgive. As I was born neither inspir'd nor infallible, so I shall be far from justifying any thing I may have hitherto done amiss: but this is no argument that I have never perform'd any thing worthy of commendation. And therefore, since the bounds of this Letter cannot contain what I have to say

say on either of these heads, I humbly beg the favour of you to permit me to wait on Your Grace, to offer that further satisfaction I am prepar'd to give, as well as to receive your paternal advice and directions, which, next to the sacred precepts of the Gospel, I shall esteem the most obligatory rules whereby to frame the future conduct of my life. I am, with all the sincerity and veneration imaginable,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's most faithful, dutiful, and obedient Servant.

*March the 6th,
1706-7.*

T O

THE REVEREND Mr. * * *

Reverend SIR,

TO hear of scandal, quarrels, and defamation, I am sorry, is no new thing; the world did always abound with them, and will continue to do so as long as envy, pride, or avarice deprave human nature. Notwithstanding there be a sovereign light plac'd by the Almighty in every man's heart as well to moderate his passions as to guide his actions; yet lest we shou'd be too partial in

A a 3

affairs

affairs which concern our own persons, and so be apt to mistake our selfish inclinations for the dictates of unbiassed reason; we have public monitors and judges divinely establish'd among us, both to inform us of our duty, and to regulate our behaviour. Tho' it be a most wicked thing in any body to misrepresent another, yet the sin is more notorious in that man whose peculiar function obliges him to preach charity, peace, and forgiveness to others: for nothing he can ever say will have any great influence while his ill example seems to be so strong an argument that he believes not his own Doctrine.

'Tis but too well known in how many particulars I might apply this with relation to my self; but I'm so much accusom'd to the hard and undeserv'd usage of some men, that now it moves me not in the least; yet I was strangely surpriz'd to hear you censur'd by some of your brethren in the country, as if you had receiv'd a bribe to give me the Sacrament, which shews at once their ignorance and their malice: their ignorance in imagining you cou'd deny it me, and their malice in belying you after so base a manner. My charity wou'd never let me suspect that you were capable of being corrupted to commit any wilful iniquity, much less that you wou'd for a little money prostitute the most sacred ordinance of the Christian Religion. I wish my circumstances wou'd allow me to
make

make the poor acknowledgment, I yearly pay the Minister, a great deal more: you know it was but one Guinea to you last year, and given a long while before you publish'd your intentions of administering the Sacrament. As for my participating of it, there needed no other known qualification (I hope) than being dispos'd as the Rubric directs; and the bare act of receiving it ought to convince all charitable persons of my veneration for it: since I look upon it to be the public sign whereby we commemorate the death of JESUS CHRIST, the founder of our Religion, engage our selves to obey his Laws, and declare our hopes to enjoy the benefits of the same. Indeed I differ from you and others who think the Sacrament to be a means of conveying grace: which, if it be an error, has been profest to the world by many eminent Divines of our Church, and was never thought a sufficient bar to Communion.

It is a maxim with me never to believe a story which reflects upon any man's honor, till I have it from an unquestionable author: nor is it enough that it be one I esteem, if he knows no more of it than only by report; and therefore I need not tell you with what tenderneſs we ought to handle reputation, since the injury is commonly irreparable. I am a true well-wisher to all mankind, but I particularly desire the conversion of my enemies. I doubt not

your justice when occasion requires it, and you will not scruple my sincerity when I profess my self to be, Reverend SIR, your most humble servant.

T O

Mr. * * *

SIR,

WHAT you heard from your Cousin about the Book of which he tells you I am master, is actually true; and no story of his making (as you suppose) to set Doctor MORELLI's mouth a watering, nor any scheme of my contrivance to vent my own notions under such a disguise. The Volume carries in it self undeniable arguments of its age and authority: and, since you say your curiosity is so great and pressing, you shall by no means lose your longing; for I'll tell you the history of this piece in as few words as I can, yet omitting at this time all that I know concerning the person and circumstances of the Author.

In the Court of Queen ELIZABETH 'tis generally acknowledg'd, even by her enemies, that there was a set of very extraordinary men, and among them some, who understood every thing else as well as the Art of Government, and who saw further than any since
(or

(or perhaps before) into the mysteries of Priestcraft and the extravagancies of Superstition. This knowledge of the follies of some men, and the frauds of others, did not a little serve to make them such exquisite Politicians, enabling them to take every thing by the right handle, what safely to abolish, what necessarily to retain, how to govern all men by the springs of their own passions, and to manage the whole machine by the chains and weights of prevailing opinions. Private Conferences they usually had, wherein they talk'd of every thing freely and without a veil, being secure from the censure or mistakes of the prophane vulgar, and in those things true to one another, tho' not seldom at variance on other occasions.

The most remarkable instance of their liberty in thinking, and of their prudence in concealing their notions is this Book, which was written with the privacy of a certain number among them, who had the few copies that were printed, and the work was particularly dedicated to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, of whom the Author has given an excellent character, as he has done of the French Ambassador Monsieur de MAUVISSIER DE CASTELNAU, and of FULK GREVILL, afterwards Lord BROOK, three principal men in this learned Club of Courtiers: the rest being a mixture of young and old persons, as Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, Sir THOMAS SMITH, Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Sir AMBROSE PHILLIPS, the Earl of LEICESTER,

and some others: but the Encomium of Queen ELIZABETH, for the justice of fact, delicacy of thought, and eloquence of expression, seems to ingage the Author's affections, wherever he has occasion to mention her.

In the Book is represented a Council of the Gods, owning, rehearsing, and exposing their ancient worship, or the Religion of the Heathens, in a most learned, long, and elegant Oration made to them by JUPITER, on the Festival in commemoration of their Victory over the Giants. But the Gods are no less scandaliz'd and offended at the present condition of things, which they conclude to be yet far worse than in the Pagan times, both in respect of private Virtue and of public Government. Having resolv'd therefore to make amends for their own past tricks and offences, and to destroy the succeeding impostures of others, they agree to act fairly for once, and to set up the intelligible, useful, necessary, and unalterable Law of Nature, against the mysterious, speculative, unpracticable, and changeable Institutions of all other kinds. But in order to this, finding no Letters so clear, universal, and durable, as the eternal fires of the Stars, they abolish the antient names of the Constellations: which, when understood, are but the histories of the tyranny, luxury, brutality, whimsicalness, and other defects of antient Princes or great men; or, where
not

not understood, many of them are fabulous, mostly obscure, and all unprofitable. Wherefore instead of these poetical fictions, they give the Constellations the names of the so long forgot and neglected moral Virtues, carefully marking, examining, confuting, and rejecting the opposite vices. All the antient Constellations, about forty eight in number, are successively arraign'd; and in exploding the Heathen story (as that of *Orion*, or the *Bear*, or *Aquarius*, for example) there is commonly a parallel or allusion made to some later Superstition, which is ironically handled, and admirably turn'd into ridicule, in a method peculiar to our Author. Immediately after this, the contrary Virtue is set off to full advantage, being proposed by some of the Gods, and decreed by JUPITER, to take up the room of the Heathen Fable; but in so grave and solid a stile, that one is tempted to believe, it is not always the same hand that writes. The counterfeit of every Virtue, and all the false pretenders to that name, are patiently heard in making their several pleas to obtain the honor of a Constellation; but are at last detected, condemn'd, and discarded, as the real Virtue is plac'd on its true foundation, and worthily presented with a becoming Seat in the Heavens. The Law of Nature being thus methodically reduc'd to certain heads, and the Constellations bearing the titles of so many Virtues, as of Truth, Prudence, Temperance,

rance, Justice, Fortitude, and the like; this they call'd *the Book of Nature*, being equally legible and open, at all times and to all persons.

The project was pretty enough; for in less than the space of a fortnight, any body may become master of the celestial Sphere; so that even boys at school might be taught this part of Astronomy with no small pleasure; and by giving such names to the Constellations, they wou'd become the best monitors and most obvious memorials of their duty to all manner of people. It serv'd this purpose for Religion among the Heathens, which shews the thing is not impracticable another way. But our Author never dreamt of publickly establishing it, but chose it for a plan that serv'd at once to expose the Priest-craft of the Heathens and other people. However, this part of the Book is easily conceiv'd; and what is most singular in the whole, is the manner of exploding Superstition. In a word, it was a very uncommon thought, and incomparably perform'd: for tho' this Volume exceeds not 261 pages in Octavo, small print, besides the explicatory Dedication containing about a sheet; yet in one continu'd thread and contexture it contains the whole doctrine of the Sphere, the Learning and History of antient Superstition, the confutation of modern Imposture, and a compleat System of Ethicks;
besides

besides various incidents and digressions. How the secret was kept, and this Book (which was probably the Queen's own) came to my hands, you shall be told another time, for this Letter is but too long already.

I am,

SIR,

your, &c.

To * * *

Prague, January 1708.

SIR,

I HAVE nothing to add to what I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency per post, but that the Countess of STERNBERG is not the only person at Prague to whom I am particularly oblig'd: for the very reverend Father Guardian, and the rest of the worthy members of the Irish Convent, were not more disposed to do me all the good offices of humanity, than they were forward to shew me the most zealous affection of Country-men. Yet I did not receive half that satisfaction from their many civilities to my own person, as I was charm'd with their putting round the Queen's health in full Refectory, where a great many strangers were present, and of several Nations as well as different Religions. Nor did I find 'em less

less easy and well-bred upon this last article, than in other things; tho' I frankly told 'em my sentiments, and, perhaps, that I might sometimes, to improve by the discourse of ingenious persons, carry matters further than Reason or the Reformation will allow. But I must do that justice to the bearer of this Letter, Father FRANCIS ô DEULIN, Lectur of Divinity, as to own my self not a little pleased with his courteous behavior and good literature. The least I cou'd therefore do in return of so much kindness and friendship, was to recommend him, according to his own desire, to a person of your Excellency's extraordinary candor and capacity, not doubting by my own experience, but that during his stay at Vienna, you'll not only favor him with your protection (he being a good Imperialist, without which I wou'd not espouse him) and be ready to forward or countenance him in all lawful occasions. But I am confident his own merit will prevail farther than any thing I can say in his behalf.

I am &c.

A

Mr. T O L A N D.

Hanover, ce 30 d'Avril 1709.

MONSIEUR,

J'AY reçu à mon retour le présent de vôtre Livre avec l'honneur de votre Lettre, & je vous en remercie. Mon absence a été longue ; autrement je vous aurois répondu plutôt.

Il y a plusieurs bonnes remarques dans tous vos ouvrages, & je vous avouë facilement, que TITE LIVE n'étoit rien moins que superstitieux. Monsieur HUET en appliquant les Fables des Payens à MOYSE, a voulu plutôt faire paroître son erudition que son exactitude, dont il a pourtant donné de bonnes preuves ailleurs ; & son Livre des *Demonstrations Evangeliques* ne laisse pas d'être très instructif, nonobstant qu'il s'y donne carrière, en se jouant des Mythologies. Vous avez fort raison, Monsieur, de donner des grands éloges à HERODOTE. STRABON est un auteur grave, mais lors qu'il parle de MOYSE, il paroît qu'il prend les actions & les sentimens de ce Législateur selon les preventions & les chimères des Grecs. Il n'en avoit apparemment que des notices confuses, & il se trompe manifestement

ment en croyant que le Temple de Jerusalem a été l'ouvrage de MOYSE, que les voisins des Hebreux avoient des coutumes semblables aux leurs, & que la circoncision & la defense de certaines viandes auprès des Juifs a été postérieure à MOYSE.

Je ne say, si vous avez trouvé, Monsieur, dans la Langue des Coptes ou Egyptiens qu'elle convient avec celle des Pheniciens & des Arabes, comme vous dites p. 145. Feu M. ACOLUTHUS de Breslau la croyoit convenir avec celle des Armeniens: mais ses preuves ne me satisfaisoient point. C'est une Langue fort differente des autres, que nous connoissons.

Pour ce qui est de vôtre but, j'avouë qu'on ne sauroit assez foudroyer la Superstition; pourvu qu'on donne en même temps les moyens de la distinguer de la veritable Religion; autrement on court risque d'envelopper l'une dans la ruine de l'autre auprès des hommes, qui vont aisement aux extremités; comme il est arrivé en France, où la bigoterie a rendu la devotion même suspecte: car une distinction verbale ne suffit pas. Ainsi j'espère que vous serez porté à éclaircir la verité, comme vous avez travaillé à rejeter le mensonge.

Vous faites souvent mention, Monsieur, de l'opinion de ceux qui croient qu'il n'y a point d'autre Dieu, ou d'autre estre eternel, que

que le Monde, c'est à dire, la matiere & sa connexion (comme vous l'expliquez p. 75.) sans que cet estre eternal soit intelligent (p. 156.); sentiment que STRABON attribué à MOYSE selon vous (p. 156.), & que vous même attribuez aux Philosophes de l'Orient, & particulièrement à ceux de la Chine (p. 118.). Et vous dites même (p. 115.) qu'on y peut appliquer (mais par equivoque) l'Estre parfait, l'Alpha & l'Omega, ce qui a esté, qui est, & qui sera; ce qui est tout en tous, dans lequel nous sommes, nous nous remuons, & nous vivons, formules de la Sainte Ecriture. Mais comme cette opinion (que vous marquez rejeter vous même) est aussi pernicieuse, qu'elle est mal fondée; il eut été à souhaiter, Monsieur, que vous ne l'eussiez rapportée qu'avec une refutation convenable, que vous donnerez peut-être ailleurs. Mais il seroit toujours mieux de ne pas differer l'antidote apres le venin. Et pour dire la verité, il ne paroît pas que la plupart de ceux des anciens & des modernes, qui ont parlé du Monde comme d'un Dieu, ayent crû ce Dieu destitué de connoissance. Vous savés qu'ANAXAGORE joignoit l'Intelligence avec la Matiere. Les Platoniciens ont conçu une Ame du Monde, & il paroît que la doctrine des Stoiciens y revenoit aussi : de sorte que le Monde selon eux étoit une maniere d'Animal ou d'Estre vivant le plus parfait qui se puisse, & dont les corps particuliers n'estoient que les membres. Il semble que STRABON aussi

l'entend ainsi dans le passage que vous cités. Les Chinois mêmes, & autres Orientaux conçoivent certains Esprits du Ciel & de la Terre, & peut-être même, qu'il y en a parmy eux, qui conçoivent un Esprit supreme de l'Univers. De sorte que la difference entre tous ces Philosophes (sur tout les anciens) & entre le veritable Theologien, consisteroit en ce que selon nous & selon la verité, Dieu est au dessus de l'Univers corporel, & en est l'auteur & le maistre (*intelligentia supramundana*) ; au lieu que le Dieu de ces Philosophes n'est que l'Ame du monde, ou même l'Animal, qui en resulte. Cependant leur Tout (πᾶν) n'estoit pas sans intelligence, non plus que nôtre Estre suprême. Madame l'Electrice a coustume de citer & de louer particulierement ce passage de l'Ecriture, qui demande s'il est raisonnable que l'auteur de l'œil ne voye pas, & que l'auteur de l'oreille n'entende pas ; c'est à dire, qu'il n'y ait point de connoissance dans le premier Estre, dont vient la connoissance dans les autres.

Et à proprement parler, s'il n'y a point d'Intelligence universelle dans le monde, on ne pourra point le concevoir comme une Substance veritablement une : ce ne sera qu'un *aggregatum*, un assemblage, comme seroit un troupeau de moutons, ou bien un étang plein de poissons. Ainsi en faire une Substance eternelle, qui meritât le nom de Dieu, ce seroit se jouer des mots, & ne rien dire sous
de

de belles paroles. Les erreurs difparoiffent, lors qu'on confidere affés les fuites un peu negligées de ce grand Principe, qui porte qu'il n'y a rien, dont il n'y ait une raifon qui determine pourquoy cela eft ainfi pluftôt qu'autrement : ce qui nous oblige d'aller au delà de tout ce qui eft materiel, parce que la raifon des determinations ne s'y fauroit trouver.

Les deux ouvrages l'un en Latin l'autre en Italien que GIORDANO BRUNO a publié *de l'univers & de l'infini*, & que j'ay lûs autrefois, font voir que cet auteur ne manquoit pas de penetration. Mais malheureufement il eft allé au delà des juftes bornes de la raifon. Il donnoit auffi dans les Chimeres de l'Art de RAYMOND LULLE. Je n'ay jamais lû fon *spaccio della Bestia triomfante* : il me femble, qu'on m'en a parlé un jour en France, mais je ne le faurois affeurer : il y a trop long temps. Ne faudroit il point dire *specchio* au lieu de *spaccio* ? M. DE LA CROSE m'a dit, que vous luy avez montré ce Livre.

Madame l'Electrice fe porte encore bien, graces à Dieu. Elle vient de perdre fa fœur Abbeffe de Maubuiſſon bien plus agée qu'elle, & qui s'eſt affez bien portée jufqu'à fa derniere année. Je crois que Monſeigneur le Prince Electoral ira encore faire la campagne.

Au reſte je ſuis avec zele,

Votre tres humble & tres
obeiffant ſerviteur.

LEIBNIZ.

P. S. Mes amis m'ont pressé de faire mettre au net mes considerations sur la Liberté de l'Homme & la Justice de Dieu par rapport à l'Origine du Mal : dont une bonne partie avoit été autresfois couchée sur le papier pour faire lire à la Reine de Prusse qui le desiroit. J'y examine toutes les difficultez de M. BAYLE & tache de les resoudre , pendant que je rends justice à son merite. Car je n'aime pas d'accuser les gens sur des simples soupçons.

T O

Mr. L E I B N I Z.

Feb. 14, 1710. N. S.

S I R,

I Lately did my self the honour to send you the *Letter* I publish'd that very day, as an antidote against Dr. SACHEVERELL's seditious Sermon ; and the Articles since exhibited against that Incendiary by the Commons, shew that I did not only rightly apprehend the scope of his writings, but that I no where stretch'd his meaning, and that his principal view has been the defeating of the Succession in the House of Hanover. I shou'd have sent you freely the Articles at large, whereof I have an authentick copy ; but that I suppose your Envoy at our Court wou'd not leave the Elector to the blundering

ing abstracts of Gazettes, in a matter that so nearly and essentially concerns himself and his Posterity.

I then promis'd by the following post to send a larger packet concerning your self: but your Bookseller TROYEL, who offer'd me his service in this particular, was not prepar'd enough till now, that he has some sheets of yours to send. Some time ago, he told me he was printing your *Considerations upon the Liberty of Man, and the Justice of God, with relation to the Origin of Evil*; and that you were making some addition to it, upon the account of what Dr. KING, the Archbishop of Dublin, has written upon the argument. Tho' TROYEL, without your permission, would not let me read your Considerations, yet I was easily persuaded, that the most solid and accurate Monsieur LEIBNIZ wou'd reconcile those points infinitely better than that Prelate, who, since the publication of the other Book, has printed a *Sermon* likewise (which I may term his *curae secundae*) upon this very subject. But a friend of mine in England, a Lay-man like your self, and a Gentleman of a good estate, has just now publish'd a notable censure of this Sermon, which he has sent me with some other things, and which I thought wou'd not only be proper, but likewise agreeable to you at this juncture. I have therefore deliver'd them this morning to your Bookseller for

B b 3

this

this purpose. A word now to your former Letter.

My *Adeisidaemon* will be reprinted at the Hague, as soon as I transmit thither an additional Dissertation, tho' upon a different subject. I shan't make the least alteration either in *Adeisidaemon* or the *Origines Judaicae*: since the attempts to answer or censure them appear to be as impotent as they were malicious, and therefore have confirm'd others no less than my self in the truth of my allegations; for their invidious consequences I utterly disclaim as illogical and false. The epistolar animadversions of my true friends, I take as kindly, as I have treated those of my envyers with contempt: but none of those whom I justly admire and revere, have been more pertinent and candid than your self, which indeed is your most laudable behaviour towards all mankind.

You frankly acknowledge that LIVY was nothing less than superstitious, tho' certain Journalists would foolishly endeavour, out of mere opposition, to produce the contrary; wherein they only shew the littleness of their spite, and the greatness of their ignorance, from which character I must needs exempt the Gentlemen of Leipstick, who have done me justice to my satisfaction.

I wholly

I wholly agree to what you say about carefully distinguishing Religion from Superstition, lest the one be unwarily involv'd in our censure of the other: and 'tis to your zeal for keeping inviolably to this rule, that I must attribute a few mistakes, that have slip't you in relation to the *Origines Judaicae*. After bestowing a just commendation upon STRABO, you add, that he represented the Actions and Doctrines of MOSES according to the prejudices and chimeras of the Greeks: whereas in almost every particular he gives a quite different account of him, from what the Greeks, or their Latin copiers, have left upon record; and the decision of this point depending upon fact, I need say no more about it, till the passages be produc'd that I have overlook'd or misunderstood. Where he had his materials is another question, of which, I have yet said nothing, but only shewn how fraudulently Monsieur HUET had misrepresented him. Neither does STRABO, SIR, (as you charge him) any where say that MOSES built the Temple of Jerusalem, but only that he conducted the Jews to the place where that Fabrick stood in our Author's time, και απηγαγον επι τον τοπον τειτον, οπου νυν εστι το εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις κτισμα; and he afterwards very plainly ascribes the erecting of it, as a real Cittadel, tho' under the pretence of a Temple, to those Tyrants who had perverted the Mosaick Institutions. The Question is not

all this while how much STRABO was in the right, but what he precisely thought, whether in the wrong or not. As to the Rites he affirms were introduc'd after the time of MOSES, perhaps he's mistaken in those you specify : but in the *Respublica Mosaica* I shall unanswerably prove that many things, both rites and precepts in that abridgment we call the *Pentateuch*, are long posterior to MOSES ; and this will I do after quite another manner, than SPINOSA cou'd, or LE CLERC wou'd have done. You add, that STRABO's manifestly mistaken, when he says that the neighbours of the Jews had many ceremonies and customs like to theirs. This he no where says, tho' I do ; nor can any man doubt of it that reads their MAIMONIDES, or our SPENCER. From these and more antient Authorities I shall demonstrate this thing in the fore-said work, and not from the passage of STRABO, where *δια την ἐμίλιαν* ought to have been translated *by reason of acquaintance or commerce* (*propter consuetudinem aut commercium*) and not *of rites or manners*, as it is there. This is the only place where thro' inadvertence I have left him wrong translated ; for from the third word *μιγαδων* I have corrected the version even to the end.

You own that Monsieur HUET, in applying the Pagan Fables to the Person or Doctrine of MOSES, intended rather to shew his learning than his exactness ; and I agree with
with

with you, that in other things he has shewn himself exact enough. But this subject, methinks, requir'd more exactness than Romances either in Love or Philosophy; and his very title of *Demonstration* ought to have remov'd afar off every thing that was not of the utmost accuracy. But the truth of it is, that, whatever I may with you ascribe to his learning, there runs a large vein of Priestcraft throughout that tedious work, which has not charms enough to make any Infidel read it; and you, who have no superior in the Mathematical sciences, well know, that the very arrangement of his Propositions (to say nothing of what he alledges for proof of 'em) is far from being exact. This, as I understand from France, I shall be soon oblig'd to prove, which will cost me neither time nor pains, as having it ready cut and dry'd; and, in the mean while, I send you the character of his work from a very able man in Germany, and one you intimately know.

You doubt whether I have found any affinity between the Coptick Language, and that of the Phœnicians and Arabians. But I have neither in page 141, to which you refer, nor any where else, mention'd the Coptick Language; as believing that Jargon so call'd at this day, to have very few genuine remains of the ancient Egyptian Language: and so for ought I know, Monsieur ACOLUTHUS of
Breslau

Bresslau might have been in the right in comparing it with Armenian, which I don't understand. Yet, if your curiosity will require it, I am ready to shew you, that the Egyptian words preserved in the Bible, and those in other old writings (except some introduc'd under the great Kings) were as much of the same origin and construction with the Hebrew, as Arabick or Cadean ; and as Swedish or Islandish are with the present German, and any other Dialect of that with the old Gothick.

As to what you said with regard to two other points, the one of JORDANO BRUNO and his writings, especially his *Spaccio de la Bestia trionfante* ; and the other of the Pantheistick opinion of those who believe no other eternal Being but the Universe, I shall do myself the favor to write you in my next. Pray, let me have your thoughts of my printed Letter, with the liberty of reading what's printed of your work ; and be pleas'd to direct your answer to be left for me at TROYEL's. After my duty and service, where justly due, I am &c.

T O

Mr. L E I B N I Z.

S I R,

L A S T post day I gave a Letter for you, and two small Books, to your Book-feller TROYEL; who promis'd to send them, with other things of his own, without delay. But that Letter was too long already to add any more to it, and therefore I shall do my self the honor at present to answer another point in your former Letter, concerning JORDANO BRUNO NOLANO, and his writings. Several besides you had a curiosity to see the *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante* (*Bestiae triumphantis expulsio*) and at last I found myself oblig'd to send as far as Vienna, a kind of Dissertation upon this subject, which is all that seems necessary in general, and which I enclose herein for your perusal. My Copier is indeed a very young Lad, but in reading over his transcript, I have corrected all his mistakes. I confess something more particular ought to have been said concerning the *Spaccio*, which of a printed Book, is I believe the rarest in the world. But on the other hand, 'tis not a secret to be communicated to every body. Yet as very few are masters of so much judgment and discretion

as Monsieur LEIBNIZ, 'twou'd be a derogation to both, as well as a breach of the honor and friendship I profess for him, if I did not impart what I have written to another excellent person on this same argument; which is first, a most circumstantial account of the Book it self, and secondly, a specimen of it, containing three articles out of forty eight. This you may depend upon receiving per next, and in the mean while, permit me to have recourse to you, as an Oracle in History, for the solution of a doubt that has long puzzl'd me about the Chinese Language, and which the late publication of some Books in Italy has strongly reviv'd.

I need not quote any particular Authors for what you have read in so many, I mean the extreme and almost insuperable difficulty of a foreigner's ever learning, to any tolerable degree, that Language, or even of a native Chinese to be perfect master of it under many years application. This proceeds in part (say they) from the hieroglyphical forms of their Letters, vary'd into numberless figures, but not so expressive of what they represent, as to make 'em easily intelligible; partly from the multifarious accentuating or different pronunciations of one and the same word or character, which respectively vary the significations thereof; and lastly from the infinite number of words, as well as from the most frequent use of figura-

figurative expressions. The Jesuits urge this difficulty at present more eagerly than ever in their famous Dispute against the Dominicans, and in certain *Reflections*, printed by them last year at Rome I have among others noted this passage in the 14th Reflection.

La lingua Cinese è così difficile e oscura, che per quanto studio ci ponga un Europeo, se in essa non si è allevato da teneri anni, & non vi abbia con ostinato studio di molti lustri, & per vero desiderio di convertire quell' anime, tutta impiegata la forza d'un grand ingegno, non può giugnere a saperne quanto ne sappia il minimo de' Dottori Cinesi. Thirty years study is the

space they commonly allow an European, to be able to judge or decide any controversy arising from the genius of the Language. The contrary of all this, you may remember, was affirm'd to you, and by an Italian Augustine Friar, about three years ago at Wolsenbottle, who afterwards repeated the same thing to me at Berlin; nor did I see any reason to question his veracity in this point, tho' I vehemently suspected what he said of the Compass. But I am yet more than ever perplex'd, by an *Answer* that has been lately publish'd to the said *Reflections* at Turin by a learned Dominican, who produces no contemptible testimonies against the assertion of the Jesuits, of which I shall here transcribe a couple. The first is cited out of the fourth part of Dr. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI'S *Giro del mondo*, Book the second, and Chapter

ter the 9th; this Author having travell'd over all China, was a great favorer of the Jesuits, and his words are these: *la lingua Cinese al parere de Missionari (Gesuiti) é la più facile di tutte l'altre Orientali. Se per apprendere una lingua principalmente fa d'uopo memoria, quella lingua sarà più facile che averà minor copia di parole; perche sempre é più agevole ritenerne una picciola quantita, che molte: ora, la lingua Cinese é composta di sole 320 monosillable, quando la Greca & la Latina hanno una infinità di parole, di tempi differenti, nomi, & persone: adunque essa devo essere assai più facile. Si aggiugne à ciò che non fa di mestieri altra memoria che degli accenti, iguali sono come la forma, da cui si distingue la significazione delle parole. Il popolo però pronuncia bene il tutto con somma facilità, senza sapere che cosa sieno tuoni ò accenti, che non sono conosciuti che da' Letterati. Non potrà di ciò dubbitarsi, quante volte si voglia por mente che li Padri Missionari, che vanno in Cina, con l'applicazione di due anni predicano, confessano, e compongono in quella lingua, come se fosse la loro propria; quantunque vadano in quelle parti già avvanzati in età, onde hanno composti e stampati moltissimi libri, che sono ammirati e stimati da' medemi Cinesi.* But lest the Jesuits shou'd cavil against the Authority of GEMELLI, as being a Lay man, my Author produces an unexceptionable witness; namely father GABRIEL MAGALLIANS, a Portuguese Jesuit, most conversant in the

Chinese language, who lived thirty seven years in China, and twenty five of these in the capital city of Pekin. This Missionary in the 96th page of his *Relation* has this passage: *La lingua Cinese é più facile della Greca, della Latina, e di tutte l'altre d'Europa. E certo che uno, ilquale studi con applicazione e buono metodo, può in un' anno molto ben' intendere e parlare in idioma Cinese. Ed in fatti vediamo che tutti li nostri padri, che presentemente faticano in questa missione, in capa a due anni fanno così bene questa lingua, che confessano, catechizzano, predicano, e compongono con tanto facilità, come se fosse la lor lingua naturale.* This is a plain contradiction to what the Jesuits have pretended ever since the Papal Decree appear'd likely to go against them; alledging that the other Missionaries had not sufficient knowldge of the Chinese Language, to determine whether the controverted Rites and expressions were atheistical and idolatrous or not. But the Franciscan and Augustine, as well as the Dominican Missionaries, very justly reply, that supposing the Chinese Tongue so difficult to them as is pretended, it must needs be as difficult likewise to the Jesuits; or else on the contrary, as easy to them as to the Jesuits. This is certainly true, and therefore the inquiry between you and me, is not how the several disputes or interests of these Gentlemen are or may be determin'd, but what is true in fact concerning the difficulty or facility of the Chinese Language,

guage, wherein by the concordant confession of both, there are contain'd such vast numbers of excellent Books, and containing a Philosophy especially very different from what obtains in our parts 'of the world. Wherefore I desire the favor of you, not only to communicate your thoughts to me on this subject, and such observations as I'm sure in a long tract of reading you have most judiciously collected, but to refer me likewise to such Books, as you shall think the most proper to give me due light and satisfaction.

After presenting my duty and service as before, I remain,

S I R,

Your most observant and devoted admirer.

A

Mr. T O L A N D.

Hanover ce 1. de Mars 1710.

MONSIEUR,

J'Ay reçu ce que vous m'avez envoyé contre le Docteur SACHEVEREL, aussi bien que le Sermon de M. l'Archeveque de Dublin, avec la refutation, dont je vous remercie. J'ay trouvé de bonnes choses dans

le Livre de ce Prelat sur l'*origine du mal* ; mais je ne saurois goûter son sentiment, qui tend à nous faire croire, qu'il y a dans les substances libres une volonté ou election, qui n'est point fondée dans la representation du bien ou du mal des objects, mais dans je ne say quel pouvoir arbitraire de choisir sans sujet. Son *Sermon* aussi ne me satisfait pas, lors qu'il semble nier, que nous ayons de veritables notions des attributs de Dieu.

Il est vray, que STRABON est un bon Auteur : mais je crois pourtant, qu'on peut dire qu'il se trompe fort en parlant des Juifs. Il ne paroît point fondé d'avancer les points suivans : 1, que des Edomites chassés de l'Arabie, se sont joints aux Juifs & ont pris leur loix : 2, que les Juifs sont Egyptiens d'origine : 3, que MOYSE a été un Prêtre Egyptien : 4, que MOYSE a crû, que Dieu est le Monde : 5, que MOYSE a occupé les environs de Jerusalem : 6, qu'il a obtenu ce pays sans combat : 7, que le pays des Juifs estoit peu digne d'être matiere de combats : 8, qu'au lieu d'armes MOYSE a employé les ceremonies de la Religion : 9, que les peuples voisins se sont joints à luy : 10, que ses successeurs ont introduit la circumcission, & l'abstinence de certaines viandes. Je ne veux point éplucher le reste, mais je ne saurois dissimuler la faute qu'il a faite dans un fait voisin de son temps, en croyant qu'HERODE a été un des Prêtres ou Pontifes des Juifs. M. CASAUBON a remarqué

encore, que STRABON trompé par d'autres auteurs, a confondu le Lac de Sirbone avec le Lac Asphaltite, où le Jordan se perd.

La Langue Cophte garde beaucoup de l'ancien Egyptien, & des personnes y versées le croient bien different de l'Arabe.

M. HUET étant, sans doute, un des plus savans hommes de nôtre temps, merite qu'on parle de luy avec moderation.

Quant aux Chinois, je crois qu'il faut distinguer entre leur Caracteres & leur Langue. Les Caracteres en sont difficiles à apprendre, & les Jesuites ont raison de soutenir, qu'il faut beaucoup de temps pour qu'on soit en état de bien entendre les livres de cette nation; mais la Langue n'est pas fort difficile, quand on en a attrappé la prononciation: aussi est elle fort imparfaite; les savans ne la cultivant point, parce qu'ils s'attachent aux Caracteres. Le Pere GRIMALDI m'a dit, qu'il arrive quelque fois aux Chinois dans la conversation de tracer les caracteres en l'air ou autrement, pour se mieux expliquer.

Au reste je suis

MONSIEUR,

vosre tres humble

& tres obeissant serviteur,

LEIBNIZ.

T O

Mr. * * *

York-buildings, Feb. 9, 1710-11.

SIR,

SOMETHING I was to finish for Prince EUGENE, with whom I hold a literary correspondence, and which I have transmitted to his Highness last post, is the reason I have so seldom apply'd to you in person or paper (if I may so speak) since my arrival. But tho' I intend to do my self the honor of waiting on you to morrow, yet my duty obliges me to send you this Letter to day. I have, indeed, been very busy hitherto (which hurry is now over) yet I have been at times in all places and with all people. My long absence has given me a good pretext for an unaffected reserve, as seeming ignorant of every thing at home, which makes all men desirous to inform me on the foot of their own schemes and principles, being God knows sometimes extremely different, and frequently inconsistent.

That I never admir'd the late Ministry, to whom I was under no tie of affection or gratitude, you remember as well as any man; and you know, that by the Ministry,

C c 2

I don't

I don't mean every man that was then in Employment: but that I neither disparage nor commend them now, any more than over-flatter the present Ministry, which I am likewise far from under-rating, is what you'll be doubtless inform'd of from the Coffee-houses, where you great men (be of what side you will) need have no spies in pay; since there are so many officious expectants in each of them ready to perform that service. I therefore hear and see every thing. I have the pleasure very often by cross questions, or a seeming compliance, to draw that out of some people, for which they wou'd be ready to hang themselves, if they thought I rightly understood them; tho', after starting their designs, to the best of my ability, their persons for me shall be always safe. Bantering and fooling, indifference and doubtfulness, are successful engines in this art of disburthening, which you know the French call *tirer les vers du nez*, and we English *pumping*. In short, I set up not pretendedly, but in downright earnest, for conversing with all men and about all things; which conduct I have exactly observ'd ever since my going last abroad, and shall ever continue it.

Let this serve as a preface, SIR, to whatever I may have occasion to write or say to you for the future, and in particular to what I am now going to tell you; which is, that a violent suspicion is strongly rooted in the
minds

minds of many, and indirectly affecting all, as if I know not what long-winded measures were concerted in favour of the Pretender's more easy access to the British Empire ; and consequently against the rightful and lawful claim of the House of Hanover. Believe me, this notion alone does the Court more harm, than all the artifices of all the men that are disoblig'd in the nation. I will not dispute but that the late Ministers and their creatures would gladly clog the wheels ; as some ill-affected, ignorant, or discontented Tories wou'd drive 'em much too fast. But other Whigs and Tories wou'd not be willing to get more money than they have at present, than to improve by any hands the money they have got already, cou'd they entirely trust the Government. Nay, tho' I shou'd agree with your Projectors, that some keep up their money out of sullessness, and others in expectation of greater advantages when the Court is in greater distress ; let me take the liberty nevertheless to assure you, that there are a third sort, and those not the least wealthy or numerous, who for the reason given before (well or ill grounded) dare not at this juncture part with their money on any terms, tho' ever so inviting. Such people have with the greatest earnestness and sincerity beg'd me for a reason to set them at ease.

Now since by conquering this same point of Money, you conquer all other difficulties, I think it behoves the Court by some unaffected method (yet as much for their own honor as possible) to settle the minds of the subjects; and to act in respect to the House of Hanover with more openness and heartiness than they are hitherto observ'd to have done either there or elsewhere. Dry and general expressions will not do: friends must be confirm'd, and enemies put out of hope. I cou'd tell you the answers that men have ready in their mouths to that part of the Queen's Speech which relates to the Succession, and which (by the way) seems even to me not to be over-punctually follow'd by the countenance and preferment given since to certain persons whereof I saw a list, with whose former conduct and characters I am thoroughly acquainted, and who I have reason to believe are not chang'd by an oath, whatever they may be by a place. They cannot at least be said to be *zealous* for the Protestant Succession.

I am not a stranger to the principles and practices of certain Scots I can meet every day about Westminster, no more than to the peculiar construction they put on the Oath of Abjuration. I know what is further said in the world concerning the affected stile, or rather incoherent jargon of the late Addresses;

dressés; nor want I explanations from some of the Addressers themselves. I am glad however on other accounts that such Addressers there were. But to pass over a thousand things of this nature and tendency, I must not forget that some of the Writers that wou'd distinguish themselves by their zeal for the present Ministry (as the *Examiner*, for example) have given but too much ground for these surmises by very odd and imprudent, if not disaffected and villanous expressions.

'Tis likewise prodigious to think, that LESLY, who deserves to be hang'd, was not as much punish'd at least for his *Good old Cause*, as Sir ROWLAND GWYN for his *Letter*, or GILDON for publishing and defending it. Tho' I don't mention 'em, I am not ignorant of other such Books that have pass'd uncensur'd, to the no small amazement of every body. There are so many scatter'd particulars of this kind, which tho' singly perhaps unheeded, yet collected and set fairly in one view, wou'd (I durst wager) bring down stocks lower than ever.

Certain informations now before the Attorney General against two Scots Officers, as also against a man from Exeter (to name no more) and the sham-plot of those two rampant St. German Priests LANGTON and HIGGINS, against some honest Gentlemen in Ire-

land, whereof I have a very particular account, from one of the Gentlemen themselves, cannot but make people remember and dread the days of King CHARLES and King JAMES. 'Tis ever an ill sign when Informers are encourag'd.

I will not insist on the choice of Ministers to the Court of Hanover, almost from the beginning: nor on certain, I was going to say childish, ways of treating them, of which they'll be the last themselves to tell you; and I own that I am far from being commission'd to do so, or any thing like it. I am however afraid, and I wish I may never have occasion to shew, that you have all of you a wrong notion of that place, where you may depend upon it that there are neither Whigs nor Tories; and where as Mr. H*** (if he has any faith in me) is the highest in their esteem for a Politician, so he may be the first in their confidence as a friend, without forfeiting any of his duty to his present Royal Mistress, whose true interest and theirs are, in their opinion, inseparable. Never, I am sure, were heirs apparent or presumptive less dispos'd to make the possessor uneasy, or less in haste to leap at a Crown, being already so easy themselves. Yet this is far from rendering them indifferent, as some shallow monsters have misconstrued their discretion; the Elector's language being unvariably this, that he'll always do by the Queen, as he wou'd
have

have his son do by him. The late Ministers, we may naturally imagine will not be wanting (if possible) to ruffle this their tranquillity, as well as improve the mistrustful dispositions, and, I hope, ill-grounded jealousies of the people.

As to Credit (which is the main point at present) the very persons in the City, who abhor the thoughts of any design for the Pretender in Court or Parliament, yet finding those that believe such designs keep up their money, will likewise keep up theirs for fear of the worst: since the least confusions on this account must ruin a world of men. 'Tis in your will, I am persuaded, and for God's sake let it be in your power, to obviate the malicious designs of your own and the Nation's enemies. A method may be easily found out: tho' I have known a boat overfet, because the skipper wou'd not slacken his sail at the desire of a passenger. Our British Court must often condescend to satisfy the doubts or desires of the People, nor does even the French King always neglect it.

Pray, SIR, mistake me not; as if I had the English spleen or a German pension. I own it is impossible for any man to be more in the interests of that most illustrious Family than I am; and as I hope to out-live every man alive that's older than my self but you, so I have a real and hearty concern for what's
to

to come. But for all that, you may safely rely upon it, that this Memorial is deliver'd out of perfect good will to you, most sincerely intended for your service, and I doubt not but so you'll understand it. I am in my self entirely secure as to the event. Tho' time and things have taught me to be cautious of every body, yet I am convinc'd that too much jealousy is as bad, if not worse, than none at all. Were I sure, as I am certain of the contrary, that every man and woman they suspect was imbarck'd in such a Plot, yet I shou'd not much fear for the Succession's blowing up or sinking their ship. Nay were the Pretender landed at Leith or in the Downs (which is believ'd to be the meaning of the hieroglyphical Almanack from Christ-Church, where the allegorical health is *Confusion to Philosophy*, that is to SOPHIA and her *friends*) should this happen, I say, I shou'd not despair of his being quickly driven out again; and in this case foreigners, I fancy, wou'd inter-meddle whether we wou'd or no. But 'tis better he shou'd not come at all, lest you or I shou'd fall in the scuffle.

For the rest, I do assure you, Dear SIR, that what I have laid before you is not wholly pick'd from common fame, nor yet the language of tools or factious fellows; but that of entire trust in me from some of the most considerable men in the Nation and
City,

City, the apprehensions of Tories as well as of Whigs, many of whom have ever despised those whom you may be apt to suspect of putting such notions in their heads, or such words in their mouths. But to conclude, I have besides a demonstration to my self that a majority of the nation does more or less believe the matter that has occasion'd this Letter. The Jacobites give out they are cocksure of it, the Whigs fear it may be too true, and many of the Tories know not what to think: but I know in such a case with whom some of them wou'd be most likely to join. The October Club, if rightly manag'd, will be rare stuff to work the ends of any party. I sent such an account of those wights to an old Gentlewoman of my acquaintance, as in the midst of fears will make her laugh. I am with my head, with my pen, and with my heart,

S I R,

*Your most faithful
and obedient servant.*

T O

T O

Mrs. * * *

MADAM,

IF we corresponded in all things as punctually as we have done this week, in interchanging the good news, no pair in history cou'd exceed us. But by yours before the last (for both which I return my heartiest thanks) I find that a Lady of your acquaintance and my self, differ very much in our notions about Solitude, which I take to be quite another thing from Retirement. I am ready to own that without Retirement one is in a perpetual hurry: it reiterates all our enjoyments by recollection; and furnishes us with materials as well as desires for new pleasures, when we produce our selves again upon the theatre. Solitude, on the contrary, not only deprives us of both the past and the future, but always inclines the present hour to joyless melancholy, which sooner or later ends in something intractable, Timonean, (pardon the word) or perhaps more fatal. And if this be true of the meanest and most thoughtless peasants, tho' little differing from brutes in all they do; how much more must it be so of such elevated genius's, whose ready and just conceptions of things, whose proper

proper but unaffected expression, and whose engaging affability ever join'd to discretion, make them the only Angels, capable to render others happy, and to be so themselves, in conversation, friendship, love, or affairs, or all together.

This is exactly the Character of the Lady, who pleads for Solitude; and who you tell me looks upon the Book of Nature, as sufficient to employ and divert her. Pray acquaint her from me, that no man in the world admires that same Book, more than my self, but that it is still only in Retirement; and I fancy I shou'd understand it better, were she there to tell me the names of the flowers, or I to tell her their virtues: besides that, after all, we peruse the Book very imperfectly, if we do not frequent the beau monde, please and be pleased, hear and relate; all which being natural, are so many agreeable pages of that infinite volume. I should be very angry at what your acquaintance says of *her time of day*; were not their proper person the only thing, wherein Ladies of her sense are allow'd to speak by contraries. Persuade her therefore to come to town, and assure her, that whoever looks upon her with my eyes, must allow the Picture I send you to resemble her in every particular. I never read it, but I thought so, and consequently thought of herself.

T O

Mr. * * *

SIR,

I Had the honor of receiving your Letter yesterday by the hands of Dr. F***. The Motto you sent, being one of five I had since collected for your choice, is already set in the frontispiece: for in subjects of this nature, I have as just a deference for your taste and judgment, as ever VIRGIL or HORACE had for VARUS. I likewise acknowledge your criticism, as to narration in general, to be right, where we ought to be very sparing of Epithets, except when they are absolutely requisite: for they only, and their cousin Adverbs, make all the distinction of things, nor can any writing be without them. But on the other hand, I admit not your French *Telemachus*, nor any other the most correct French Author for a Rule in Language: for their own is neither a good original, nor capable of imitating such. What Frenchman can say the *all-permeating Aether* or *swift-footed ACHILLES*? tho' words of this kind be as essential to Pastorals (whether in prose or verse) as to Tragic or Epic Poetry.

There

There may be however a vicious affectation of these in such Pieces as most require them. Nor do we Authors (and 'tis only laziness or a more unpardonable modesty that keeps you from being of our number) always print every word we write in the first heat of our imagination. This sort of pruning is call'd by our friend HORACE *ambitiosa recidere ornamenta*; and the Recitation of the Antients to their judicious acquaintance (a thing wholly neglected by the Moderns) was principally design'd for this purpose. Mine was so to you: but I had done it in vain, if you had not used a liberty wherein nothing is to be blam'd, but the excuse you make for it. If you don't send me word that you have business or better company to morrow, I shall have further discourses with you on this subject. In the meantime, believe me to be in the strictest sense,

SIR,

*Your most true
and faithful servant.*

T O

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

SINCE you cannot read the *Memoirs* of Monsieur CASTELNAU in the original, I send you a translation of his *Character of Queen ELIZABETH*, which, in my opinion, is a master-piece. He had long resided Ambassador at her Court from France, and was very much in her favour, tho' in Religion Popish; and, as such, hath often misrepresented the Protestants, especially those in France: which is an undeniable argument for not suspecting his sincerity when he speaks well of them.

T H E

C H A R A C T E R

O F

Q U E E N E L I Z A B E T H.

“ THO’ this Princess was possess of all
 “ the great qualities that are neces-
 “ sary for reigning a long while, which she
 “ likewise did; yet, however good her un-
 “ derstanding

“ derstanding might be, she wou’d never
“ either decide or undertake any thing of
“ her own head, but always imparted every
“ thing to her Council. What happen’d in
“ the time of AUGUSTUS, when the Tem-
“ ple of JANUS was shut as a sign of the uni-
“ versal Peace of the Empire, might be as
“ truly said of her reign; for the Queen
“ of England having avoided all wars, by
“ studying to fix them upon her neighbours
“ abroad, rather than to draw them upon
“ her own Kingdom, and to feed them at
“ home, she preserv’d her subjects by this
“ means in very great tranquillity. Nor was
“ it with any justice that she was taxt by some
“ with avarice, for not having made any consi-
“ derable liberalities(forsooth) which not only
“ load those with envy on whom they are
“ conferr’d, when excessive; but very often
“ are the cause of censure upon those who
“ bestow them without reason, and unless the
“ gift be a work of charity or necessity.
“ A further and sufficient defence against this
“ unjust charge of being govern’d by avarice,
“ is, that the said Queen did entirely dis-
“ charge all the debts of her Predecessors,
“ and put her finances into so good order,
“ that no Prince of her time did amass so
“ great riches, and levy’d with so much
“ equity, as she did, without ever laying
“ any extraordinary taxes or new-invented
“ imposts to squeeze her subjects. This ma-
“ nagement is the reason that for the space of

VOL. II. D d “ eight

“ eight years she never demanded the ordi-
“ nary subsidies and free gift, which the Eng-
“ lish are accusom’d to grant their Princes
“ from three years to three years: and, what
“ is more, her subjects having offer’d her in
“ the year 1570 the usual sum without her
“ asking of it, she not only thank’d them
“ without accepting thereof; but likewise
“ assur’d them, that unless absolute necessity
“ requir’d it, she wou’d never raise a crown
“ upon them, but what wou’d be just
“ necessary for supporting the government.
“ This single action deserves the highest
“ praise, and may well entitle her to the
“ reputation of being extremely liberal.
“ But yet further, she neither sold the of-
“ fices of her Kingdom, nor made money
“ of them any other way, tho’ other Princes
“ are wont to give them to the highest bid-
“ der: a thing that ordinarily corrupts ju-
“ stice and policy, with all humane and di-
“ vine Laws. Besides her maintaining of
“ her subjects in peace and tranquillity, she
“ continually built a great number of Ships,
“ which were the fortresses, the bastions,
“ and the ramparts of her State, causing a
“ new man of war to be launch’d once every
“ two years; and such Ships they were, as
“ made account to meet with nothing on
“ the seas capable to resist them. These
“ were the buildings, these were the Palaces
“ that the Queen of England begun from
“ her

“ her very accession to the throne, and
 “ which she delighted to continue ever
 “ after. She exercis’d withal another sort
 “ of prudent Liberality, which is, to spare
 “ no expences in order to know the secrets
 “ of foreign Princes: and this was particu-
 “ lar to her, that she chose rather to lend
 “ without interest, than to borrow her self
 “ on any conditions, tho’ ever so gainful.
 “ She has been indeed most basely calumni-
 “ ated with certain Love-Intrigues, which I
 “ can affirm with much sincerity to have
 “ been mere inventions, and stories not on-
 “ ly spread by malecontents at home, but
 “ likewise forg’d in the closets of Ambassa-
 “ dors, to make those Princes averse to her
 “ alliance, to whom her friendship might be
 “ of the greatest advantage. Had she had an
 “ inclination for the Earl of LEICESTER
 “ (as it was positively reported) and that she
 “ had preferr’d him not only to all her own
 “ subjects, but likewise to those foreign Prin-
 “ ces that courted her, what cou’d hinder
 “ her from marrying him? especially, seeing
 “ that the three estates of her Kingdom,
 “ and the neighbouring Kings and Princes,
 “ did often beg it of her with great earnest-
 “ ness, or to marry any other, even of her
 “ subjects that she might best like. But she
 “ was pleas’d to say to my self an infinite
 “ number of times, and long before I had
 “ the honor to reside in her Court, that were
 “ she ever dispos’d to marry, it shou’d only

“ be to a Prince of a great and illustrious
“ Family, and of Royal lineage, not inferior
“ at least to her own ; and this more for the
“ good of her Kingdom, than for any parti-
“ cular affection : nay, and that if she thought
“ any of her subjects were so presumptuous
“ as to desire her for a wife, she wou’d
“ never admit him afterwards into her pre-
“ sence, but, contrary to her natural dispo-
“ sition very opposite to cruelty, she wou’d
“ play him some ill turn ; so that there re-
“ mains no reason to doubt, but that she was
“ always no less chaste than prudent, as the
“ effects do plainly demonstrate. What serves
“ for a further good proof of what I here
“ allege, is, the curiosity she had to learn
“ so many Sciences and Languages, besides
“ her continual application to affairs of state
“ foreign and domestic, that she cou’d scarce
“ have any leisure to think of amorous pas-
“ sions, which are the offspring of Idleness
“ but not of Letters : a thing well under-
“ stood by the ancients, when they made
“ PALLAS the Goddess of wisdom, to be a
“ virgin, and without a mother, and like-
“ wise the nine Muses to be so many chaste
“ virgins. For all this, I know the Courti-
“ ers will say, that Honor consists only in re-
“ putation, and principally the honor of
“ women, who are happy if they have but
“ a good name. Now if I have been carried
“ somewhat too far out of my road to de-
“ scribe the praises of this Princess, the par-
“ ticular

“ ticular knowlege I had of her merits will
 “ serve me for a lawful excuse; as the re-
 “ hearsal of them seem’d also necessary, that
 “ the Queens , who shall come after her,
 “ may take the example of her virtues for
 “ their looking-glass.

Read now all the Histories that expressly or occasionally relate the Actions of this incomparable Princess, and you’ll find that this Character might well serve for argument to them all: so judiciously cou’d the French Minister croud immense matter into a very narrow room. When I write on that subject, which I hope to do e’er it be long, I am resolv’d to take it for my text; and to enlarge on the following heads, viz. That she was,

1. Basely envied by the Scotch race, and her day abolish’d by King JAMES II.

2. Maintaining the ballance of power abroad, and the head of the Protestant interest every where.

3. No single Ministry, but the results of a wise Council.

4. Preserv’d peace at home by keeping the war abroad (1), where she always entertained sufficient forces, both to assist her allies, which she never abandon’d; and to maintain military Discipline in her Kingdom.

(1) Bellum foris, pax domi.

5. Not prodigal of the public money to worthless favourites. The Popish Libels on that subject against a time of need.

6. She did discharge the public debts in reality, and not in idea ; as the public credit was held up by effects and not by a vote.

7. When she forbore receiving the usual taxes, she was at the same time engag'd in foreign wars. This was liberality to her People.

8. Never rais'd money to enrich favourites, and supply the luxury of a Court.

9. No selling of offices after the basest manner ; that is, bestowing them as bribes to the turbulent or corrupt, and not as favours to men of merit ; and splitting them among many to make the more voices, or quartering those you dare not employ on those you do.

10. Her care of augmenting the Fleet, and how it dwindl'd under her Successor, the ships she built rotting in the Docks.

11. By paying well for the secrets of Princes, she was not at a loss what measures to take, nor ever shamefully forc'd to change her schemes with every wind.

12. Never borrow'd at excessive premiums, a sure sign of mismanagement.

13. Marry'd only to her Kingdom, and not changing her Ministers with her Lovers. Steddy, and not saying and unsaying, denying and affirming, as she was bid ; a sign that those who do so, either know not what is a doing at all, or no judges when they do know it.

14. Her

14. Her prodigious knowledge, her affability, her polite Literature, not mewing her self up, but filling all foreigners with admiration of her wit as well as her wisdom.

15. Scorn'd to misally her self with the sprouts of the Law or the Gospel.

16. Her example to be follow'd by Kings as well as Queens.

17. Sometimes changing Ministers, but never measures; so that her motto of *semper eadem*, her own choice and no imitation, was not a satyr but a panegyric upon her conduct.

CASTELNAU, who liv'd in England 23 years, was admirably well acquainted with her genius; and, knowing by our constitutions, that other Queens might probably reign here before time cou'd abolish his *Memoirs*, he drew up this Character for a guide, an encouragement to their good conduct.

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

THE following abstract of a French Letter writ from Carolina, in the year 1688, being fall'n into my hands, I thought the account it gives of the honest Indians of that Country, would not be unacceptable to you.

D d 4

An

An Account of the Indians at Carolina.

I had but little knowledge of Mankind, whilst the only means I had of judging was from the Books of Morality, and the Conversation of those, amongst whom I then liv'd. All things are so order'd and so compos'd there, that 'tis very hard to make a sound Judgment of what a Man is. The submission one owes to Princes, to Justice, and to Ecclesiastical Power, do keep men so strongly within the bounds of a certain duty, as well as the prevailing custom of yeilding obedience to some persons more powerful then themselves, and more capable of doing them harm; that it is almost impossible ever to see Man in a state of pure nature: but in this Country, where he seems to be free from all these ties and obligations, one sees him in his true light, and without a mask. And truly one may say, that the apparent exaggeration of the Prophets in the Old Testament, did never carry farther the deformity of the Jews character, then can be made that of the Christians: so far are they from having the marks of a Christian that hardly have they of a rational creature. One sees them daily exclaiming against one another, without zeal towards God, without piety or affection, not helping one another, having no other God but their riches, without confidence in divine Providence,

Providence, murmuring always against him upon the most trifling vexation, as if God Almighty were ungrateful in giving so small rewards and encouragements to those who make profession of being Christians.

This is it that teacheth me to know what Man is in his depraved state. But on the other hand, God has been pleas'd to grant me a sight of Man such as he ought to be, and thereby has made me understand, that in creating us, he has not left us unprovided of natural abilities to avoid the evil for its ugliness, and to search after the good for its beauty only; without the fear of punishment attending the one, or the hope of recompence to induce us to the practice of the other. Would you imagine, SIR, that the example should be seen and found amongst these Indians, of whom you seem so unwilling to believe any such matter? Yes, SIR, it is these very Indians that have made me blush for shame to be a Man, and yet so little reasonable; and to carry the name of a Christian, and yet so remote from the practice of an Evangelical life. We know our Saviour's precepts without observing them, and they observe them without knowing him: were they to have all the Gospel word by word by heart, they could not practice it with more exactness and strictness than they do it already.

One sees so wonderful an union amongst this People, that you never hear of any disputes or quarrels among them. They are an industrious and laborious Nation; submissive to superior Powers, but without being their slaves; obeying without repining or grumbling their Sovereign's orders: never minding their own particular Interests, when the Publick has need of their service or endeavors; never suffering their neighbour to be in want, whilst they have where-withal to make them sharers with them; hospitable, religious observers of their word and promise; never lying, never taking away from another what belongs to him; no ways dissolute, luxurious or debauched; the marry'd women being modest and vertuous, as to every thing that looks like gallantry, as well as the unmarried; civil and obedient to their husbands, according to the advice of St. PAUL: all of them courteous, affable, and obliging towards strangers, no ways savage nor morose, no ways ungrateful, and never forgetting a good office; valiant and proud in war, tractable and mild in peace, hating thieves, robbers, lyars, and all such as break their word. This is the true Character of the Indians, with whom I conversed most. I must needs own to you, SIR, that after having liv'd among them some weeks, I could not but admire and be amaz'd at the lives of other men, and how
we

we toil and labor for superfluities that we may very easily be without. It was amongst them that I learn'd to seek after what is necessary, and to undervalue the great hurry of business of the world, in which, there is nothing but anguish and vexation of spirit. Good God! What sensible difference I found betwixt the happy quietness and repose I enjoy'd amongst them, and the trouble I meet with daily amongst people, a thousand times more savage then they. But, O SIR, if this People were Christians, what pleasure would there be never to part from them? 'Tis true they are not Christians, and 'tis to be fear'd will never be. When I discourf'd them upon it, they gave me such an answer as made me hold my tongue for shame. " You would (say they) have us become
" Christians? well, to what end and purpose?
" Is it to make us better than really we are,
" or is it not rather to make us as wicked
" and vicious as your selves, to render us
" Adulterers, Whore-masters, Lyars, Mur-
" therers, Robbers, without faith, honor, or
" honesty, minding nothing but how to de-
" ceive one another, and to destroy you up-
" on pretence of Justice? Is this a party to
" choose, and to oblige us to renounce the
" simplicity of our manner of life, and the
" sweet tranquillity of mind we now en-
" joy? " When I attempted to represent
to them, that 'twas not our Religion that
made us such as they painted us; since

it taught us to lead better lives: they reply'd, " that all the Indians that became
 " Christians, were fallen into the same vices
 " and irregularities, that are practic'd amongst
 " us; and that therefore they would not
 " run the hazzard of it.

To * * *

Dear SIR,

HAVING waited a fortnight after the publication of my Book, and no Answer coming out in that time (as I see not what can be reply'd to such plain facts, besides railing, which will never pass for reason) I thought my self bound to attend no longer, and so came down hither at the earnest request of a Gentleman, to whom I owe very many obligations. In one word he's neither King-ridden nor Priest-ridden. I shall not however during my small stay, waste time in merely seeing the country, or indulging the pleasures it affords: but on the contrary, I spend an hour or two every morning on a Piece that will make a much greater noise, and raise a far nobler spirit than *Dunkirk or Dover*. I am perswaded it will be reckon'd a very acceptable service by all true lovers of their Country.

But

But 'tis very hard on the other hand, that while I thus incur the odium of the French Party in power, I should be neglected by those whose English principles, and I may also say whose private interests, I so heartily promote. I do all this, its true, from the unalterable love I bear to Liberty ; but while they find their account in it, methinks, they should not be the less thankful. I hope at least they will now see, how unjust their Suspicions were, that I had still a secret understanding with my Lord * * * whose Spy they us'd approbriously to stile me ; tho' I expostulated with him more, and spoke more plain truths to him, concerning the destructive measures I saw he was taking, than any one of them has done. I neither desire nor expect my word should be taken for this : for I have authentick Proofs of it in the copies of several Writings or *Memorials* on that subject, to every one of which, the person who entertains me here is a witness, as having been privy to the same ; and in particular to the last Letter I wrote his Lordship about two years ago, wherein upon certain (as he thought) ambiguous words he let drop about the House of Hanover, I utterly renounc'd his friendship, and consequently all the advantages one in my circumstances might hope from his Protection. Since that time I never spoke nor wrote to him more : and thus while I behav'd my self as if I had the

most plentiful fortune to support me against his resentments, yet am I shamefully abandon'd as if I were his Creature in the worst sense.

I should not have taken the liberty, SIR, to be so particular with you, if I were not thoroughly convinc'd that you are not only upon the firmest Principles engag'd in the noblest cause in the world; but likewise because I found you always inclin'd both to justify and favour me, as knowing well that I neither was, nor cou'd be any thing but a Whig. Indeed a person who has so nice a taste of polite Literature himself, cannot but patronize a lover of Letters in a lower degree than I am: and hence therefore it is, that I throw my self on your generous care, not doubting but you'll take some pains to set me right with those who know me not so well, and so dispose 'em to put me in a condition of writing as freely as I think. Being resolv'd to set out for London next monday, there's no need of honouring me with an Answer, and in the mean time, I am, with the profoundest respect and sincerity.

S I R,

Your, &c.

T O

T O

Mr. * * *

London Jan. 22. 1713-14.

Dear SIR,

THE Book I do my self the honor to send you by next munday's carrier will sufficiently inform you, how I have been spending my time for some weeks past at Epsom; and the distance of that place from London, as well as my continual attention to a thread of ancient and modern facts, will excuse the interruption of Correspondence. Yet the loss to me has been in some measure made up by the assurance I receiv'd from time to time of both your healths and kind remembrance.

I flatter my self that in the foresaid Book you'll meet with more novelties, than in the ordinary course of postage I cou'd have sent in that time; and I am sorry on the other hand, that you are too sure to find in it many things that will be no news to you. Discourfing of Liberty, nay, asfertaining and maintaining it, I cou'd not but act with the greateft freedom, and indeed it wou'd not only be improper, but, in my opinion, ineffectual

effectual to do otherwise : since the principal art of persuasion is to appear persuaded your self ; and, to tell you the truth without disguise, it is impossible for a soul that's really fir'd with the love of his Country, not to express in the most pathetic terms a detestation for Tyranny, a contempt for Slaves, an aversion to Traytors, and resentment of injur'd Trust. But all this while I have not acted without caution likewise, expecting little assistance from many of those that will be the loudest to applaud me : and therefore, the coming out of the Book being fixt to next Tuesday, I have provided my self with a privacy where I fancy I may be safe enough till the first fury be overpast, if they think it adviseable to make any prosecution. Clifton is too far off, or it were the securest place in the world.

But leaving the event to time, you are to understand, that, without any regard to these things, I am in about three weeks time bound for Germany ; tho' first for Flanders, and next for Holland. I believe I shall be pretty well accomodated for this Voyage, which upon many accounts I expect will be very short. Lord ! how near was my old Woman being a Queen ! and your humble servant being at his ease ! All is not over yet, and some symptoms are promising enough. I have been the bolder upon this presumption, nor am I alone, since all the Princes in Europe take their measures on the same foot.

You'll receive Mr. STEELE's *Crisis* by the same carrier that delivers you my *Art of Restoring*. I think it a very good Book, but it does not answer the expectation of many others, who are good friends to him and the Cause.

Our naval armament goes on very slowly; and whether design'd to reduce Barcelona, Copenhagen, or London, either of these, or all three in conjunction with the French, is yet a secret to the body of our People, but none to me, as per next I shall irresistibly convince you.

I am, SIR,

your &c.

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

Pau 23 July 1714. N. S.

Dear SIR,

IT is about five weeks since I came to this place, but was not settled till very lately in a house fit for my purpose, with Stable, Coach-house and Garden. The Town is but small, and full of Persons of Quality, which makes good houses so scarce, that I thought

VOL. II.

E c

I should

I should have been forc'd to go somewhere else. I have taken one for a year at least, and think I shall stay longer, finding the place very pleasant and very healthy, as far as I am yet able to judge. The City is surrounded with very fine walks, either for coach, horse, or foot, and the Country much the most fruitful of any part of France, thro' which I pass'd. The people of condition are extremely civil, by whom we have been visited universally, with promises of much friendship and service. I have been visited but once with the Gout since I left England, with a very moderate fit since I left Paris, which is more than has happen'd to me for several years past. It might possibly have been so, if I had stay'd in England, but I had rather impute it to the exercise of my journey, and the warmth and goodness of the air. I go out sometimes on horse-back, but for the most part in the coach, where I seldom fail of meeting twenty or thirty more belonging to this little Town. We got hither by easy journeys without meeting any misfortune; and, tho' we pass'd a great deal of bad way, my horses perform'd so well, as to lose no flesh when they came hither, and are as good and fresh as at first.

The Country we pass'd thro' is sufficiently miserable, wanting almost all necessaries for a comfortable subsistence; the peasants scarcely may be said to live, and those they
call

call Gentlemen are proportionably in a worse condition. The fields are very much deserted, whole towns abandon'd, and the houses fallen down as if they had been visited with an earthquake; servants for manufactures are much wanting, and those that remain are very idle and avoiding labour, which together with the diminution of money, and the late universal plague amongst their sheep and cattel, makes their wool scarce, and their manufacturing dear. And yet they reckon'd this a blessed condition in comparison of what they felt in the time of war, and look upon the peace as no less than a restoration of their beings, which were reduc'd to their last gasp. It must needs be a long while before the country can recover the damage and desolation caus'd by the war, and in all likelihood they will never be able to do it: and if the Bill of Commerce passes, I do not see how any Province will get by it, except such who deal in wines and brandies.

Every body here talks very confidently of an Invasion of England with a considerable force, but deny that their King is any way concern'd in it, disguising all under the Emperor's name: many stick not to affirm openly, that the Queen is expected shortly in France, and preparations are making for her reception. No doubt if she quits her Kingdom upon any account, she will find a welcome here.

The state of Learning in this Kingdom is very low, and ignorance and barbarity creeps insensibly upon the people of all conditions: the Priesthood being eas'd of their studies and pains in confuting adversaries, will be sure to take care to keep the lay people as ignorant as they can. And we may expect if things continue in the present state, to see this nation over-run with witchcrafts and apparitions, miracles, and all the barbarities of the 12th and 13th Centuries.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

T. RAULINS.

TO

Mr. THORESBY.

London Sep. 29, 1715.

SIR,

MR. DES MAIZEAUX, the Gentleman who publish'd Monsieur BAYLE's *Letters*, and who has oblig'd the learn'd world with several of his own Productions, was so taken with your *Ducatus Leodiensis*, (as all persons of curiosity and judgment must necessarily be) that he sent an account of it to a foreign Journalist, with whom he keeps a
correspon-

correspondence. After having mention'd your Book, he adds, in relation to your self (1):

“ M. THORESBY avoit été élevé pour le
 “ commerce, & il y faisoit de fort bonnes
 “ affaires; mais la passion violente qu'il
 “ avoit pour toute sorte de Curiositez & de
 “ Raretez lui fit abandonner cette profes-
 “ sion pour suivre son inclination naturelle.
 “ Le Catalogue des Raretez de son Cabinet
 “ n'est pas moins curieux qu'instructif: il se-
 “ roit à souhaiter que tous ceux qui possèdent
 “ de semblables tresors voulussent imiter
 “ Mr. THORESBY.

Of this I knew nothing till I saw the Journal, and then Mr. DES MAIZEAUX own'd he had transmitted that Paragraph, which will make the Book enquir'd after beyond the seas. In effect, a famous Bookseller in Holland, has upon this notice sent for some copies.

I thought my self so much interested in what concerns the fame of an honest man, tho' not long happy in his acquaintance, that I cou'd not refrain sending you this account. The justice done in it to your merit, ought to be imitated by all those of your Countrymen, who do not envy you, for there are no parties in the Republic of Letters: and

(1) Nouvelles Littéraires du Samedi 28 Septembre 1715.

if foreigners are so highly pleas'd with perusing your Antiquities of a place they never saw ; I think the Town of Leeds, which you have not only rendred illustrious, but even immortal, shou'd after their example (of which I cou'd give many instances) in gratitude erect your Statue, accompany'd with a most honorable Inscription.

You may remember, SIR, that Mr. DES MAIZEAUX inserted his name in your *Album* the day I took leave of you. He forgets not his promise of furnishing you with some hands. I shall likewise add others, to those you have already been pleas'd to accept. In the mean time, I beg the favour of you to lend or procure me an account of such Traditions, concerning the *Druids*, as may possibly obtain in your northern parts: what Monuments are ascrib'd to them there, or that are likely to be theirs, tho' vulgarly taken otherwise: and what places (if any) are evidently, or conjecturally, call'd after them. Such an account, in whole or in part, will lay a singular obligation upon,

SIR,

*Your most faithful
obedient servant.*

Mr.

Mr. THORESBY's

A N S W E R.

Leeds Octob. 12, 1715.

SIR,

I Take the opportunity of the very first post to acknowledge the favour of your most obliging Letter, with the inclos'd Paragraph out of the *Nouvelles Litteraires*, wherein I perceive that Mr. DES MAIZEAUX has done me the honor to mention the *Ducatus Leodiensis*. My humble service and thanks to that learned Author: but his and your candor hath, I fear, been too extensive as to any thing of my performance, who being bred a Merchant, want the advantage of an Academic Education; but *la passion violente* he justly observes in me, did me in that respect a kindness, and made me give over in time before the gentleman in Holland I was in partnership with, run himself aground.

I am sorry I cannot more effectually answer your request as to the *Druids*, we not having any traditions, &c. relating to them in these parts. They seem to me to have retired with the Britains to Wales: whatever I have been able to procure relating to them,

E c 4

(mention'd

(mention'd p. 493.) being procured from thence. Only I have often thought that *Bard-say* near Wetherby in these parts receiv'd its name from the Bards their contemporaries; 'tis even yet a private retired place near the forest, proper for contemplation.

I am particularly pleased with one expression in yours, that *there are no parties in the Republic of Letters*, for I am (as you kindly observe) an *honest man*, (let me add simple and plain hearted) and can converse with great ease and satisfaction with both high and low, (tho' I cou'd wish all distinctions were laid aside) and have correspondents of both denominations. But you will pardon me for wishing that a Gentleman of so much humanity, learning, and curiosity, was, in one point, more of the sentiments of the Catholick Church. Pardon, SIR, this single expression as proceeding from the affectionate desires of a simple recluse in his country cell, where he prays for peace and truth, and the welfare of all mankind. I shall not for the future disturb you with any thing of this kind, but most readily serve you in any thing that lies in the power of,

SIR,

Your most faithful humble servant

RALPH THORESBY.

T O
Mr. T O L A N D.

Brussels July 31, 1716.

S I R,

I Will not now make any excuse for troubling you with an account of what I shall see abroad, since it is only in obedience to your commands that I do it.

I set sail from Dover to Calais about twelve of the Clock on the the 12th of July O. S. and arriv'd there five hours after, which was the 23d N. S. (which you know is used almost all over Europe). As soon as I landed, the Soldiers of the Garrison told me I must go before the Governor, and the *Intendant de la Marine*, before I could go to the Inn, which I accordingly did; there I was ask'd my name, who I was, what I came there for, and how long I intended to stay, and as soon as I had answer'd their questions they told me I might go.

Calais is but a small town, much about the bigness of Dover, but more compact; the harbour is well fortify'd, but that part of the fortifications which is towards the land, is old and out of order. You are not ignorant

norant that this Town belong'd formerly to the English, and it's the most part built by them, for the three principal Churches, and almost every thing that is ancient, had its origin from our fore-fathers. Here is a Garrison of a thousand men.

On the 25th I went for Dunkirk, which is eight leagues from Calais, I din'd in the way at Graveline, where there is a Garrison of fifteen hundred men. This town lies upon the coast, and I was told the French King had once a design to make this a sea-port, but Dunkirk was afterwards thought more convenient: it's just four leagues from Calais and three leagues from Mardyke, which last place is but one from Dunkirk. When I came by Mardyke I got out of the coach to go and view the Canal, which is a prodigious work and very large, for it's wide and deep enough to receive a first rate man of war, and capable now of containing even beyond the sluice two hundred or two hundred and fifty ships; so that it may in time (that is whenever our enemies think there is occasion) be as prejudicial to us as Dunkirk, or perhaps more, since it's so much nearer the streights of Dover and Calais, as it's remov'd from Dunkirk, which last place, I think one of the prettiest towns I ever yet saw. Though there is nothing very magnificent, yet there is nothing looks mean or poor: it's built most of brick, which upon
account

account of the colour resembles very much our stone; the streets are large and well pav'd, which gives a good air to the place. I went to view the bason and fortifications, which though ruin'd, yet the remains give a man an idea of the vastness of the work, which I believe is the greatest the last age has produc'd: there are two vast moles which seem to rise like mountains a considerable distance in the sea, upon which forts were built, and form'd the mouth of the harbour. Whether it's so far demolish'd as that we may have nothing to fear from it, is of little consequence, since Mardyke will as well serve their turn.

On the 27th I left Dunkirk and travell'd on the sand of the sea almost to Newport, which is five leagues and a half: it's a small but very clean town. This is the first place out of the dominions of France: here is a Garrison of seven hundred men paid by the Emperor. From hence to Bruges is six leagues, which is a very large place and pretty well built, but prodigiously crowded with Monasteries; and now upon the road one cannot travel in any common carriage but one is sure of the company of two or three fat Priests. As I staid but one night at Bruges, so I had little time to inform my self of any thing remarkable here. From hence to Ghent is eight leagues, which I pravell'd by a boat drawn by horses. Ghent is the capital of Flanders,

Flanders, and is very large and well built, but the walls take up a much greater circumference than what the houses fill up. I was here to see several of their Churches which were very fine, as indeed almost all the Churches in Flanders are. I was at a little Chappel, where they told me the Virgin MARY had cur'd a great many blind people, and the Pictures of them who had been cur'd were hung up in the Church; amongst the cur'd they shew'd me one who they said was an English Countess. But I could not learn her name. In the Town-house there are several very good Pictures containing the history of CHARLES the fifth, who you know was born here, and they shew the Chamber he was born in. On the 29th I left Ghent and came here: the road from Ghent to Brussels is all pav'd with stone, and it's ten leagues or thirty English mile long; here on each side the way is as fine a Country as ever I saw in my life, and I never saw more plentiful crops of corn, or a finer soil. I observ'd they did not mow the Barley as we do, but reap'd it with a Sickle and set the corn up in Sheaves as we do wheat: I could not but wonder to see them plowing the lands before the corn was got off of the ground, which we never do in England, but a considerable time after harvest. I din'd at a place call'd Aloft, just half way to Brussels: it's upon the road from Ghent that you have the best view of Brussels, which stands
upon

upon a hill that descends gradually. I shall say no more of Brussels now, but shall conclude, SIR, your most humble Servant.

T O

Mr. C * * * .

Putney, Jan. 26, 1718-19.

My Dear Friend,

TH O' you well know my heart, yet I cannot forbear putting you to a penny charge, to receive my most sincere acknowledgments for all your favours of all sorts, for which you shall never want at least the payment of gratitude.

As for the rich uncharitable company, in which, you tell me you were t'other day, I freely forgive them; looking upon men of their disposition, as much more requiring pity than my self. They are Lovers: and all such, we know, have their judgments no less blinded, than their taste vitiated. Money is the sole object of their affection, and whatever is so to any man, in that he places his chiefest happiness: so that 'tis natural for him not to consent any way to its diminution, but to endeavour by all means possible the increase of it; and in this pursuit he'll consequently persevere, without reflecting

flecting on the uncertainty of the future, whether his treasure will ever descend to those for whom he destines it, or whether whoever enjoys it may not be both unthankful to him, and also in other respects unworthy of such a possession. I need not speak of those accidents in life, which are as common as unforeknown. But the man who can distinguish the use of money from the abuse of it, who makes it his servant and not his mistress, takes incomparably more pleasure in what he contributes to make easy his friends in distress, to relieve the poor and the needy, or to promote undertakings of public benefit, than in what he saves and hoards over and above the rules of prudent foresight. For I wou'd not be so understood, as if every man was not to look to the main chance, and to preserve his estate clear and intire : whatever any body does inconsistent with this, is neither generosity nor charity, but prodigality and profuseness. A man of sound understanding on whom Heaven has bestow'd a liberal mind, will easily perceive where the medium lyes, what he can spare, and what he ought to lay up.

Dear HARRY, a lecture of this kind wou'd be receiv'd as an affront, by the muck-worms you had lately in your company, and by their brethren every where ; as one, whose sins happen to be touch'd in a Sermon, thinks the preacher did particularly aim at him, tho' he

he was not at all in his thoughts : but to such as your self, that have done a thousand generous, kind, and charitable offices, (which are far from being lost, tho' the receivers may prove unthankful or otherwise undeserving ;) to such, I say, this Doctrine sounds agreeably, and is truly relish'd by them, being ever accompany'd with the inward satisfaction, that necessarily flows from all good actions.

I can tell you however for your comfort, as every thing rejoices in its like; that you are not the only rich man, who knows how to do handsome things : for, as I wrote to you not long since, that we must ever thankfully publish the beneficence of our friends ; so, since the receipt of yours, Sir W * * * S * * * (to whom I neither wrote nor sent and who only accidentally heard of my indisposition) sent a servant to see how I did, with a very affectionate Letter, and five Guineas inclos'd in it. The manner of doing this has made a deeper impression upon me, than if another had presented me with five hundred Guineas in a disobliging way : as most certainly the circumstances of giving are sometimes no less disobliging, than those of denying.

After my service to your brother and all friends, I mean such as are truly so, were they even poorer than my self, (for real friend-

friendship knows no disparity of conditions)
I am with all the faculties of my soul,

Honest Dear HARRY,

*Your most oblig'd and most
faithful Servant.*

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

Plymton, July 10, 1720.

S I R,

YOUR *Nazareus* fell into my hands
but very lately, which must be my
apology, if I should happen to answer the
two Problems you have propos'd, a little of
the latest.

The first Problem is thus:

“ WHETHER, without having recourse to
“ miracles, or to promises drawn from the
“ *Old Testament* (which is the same thing, if
“ you don't take those promises for wise
“ foresight) it can be demonstrated by the
“ intrinsic constitution of the Government
“ or Religion of the Jews, how, after the
“ total subversion of their State for almost
“ seventeen hundred years, and after the dis-
“ persion of their nation over the whole
“ habitable earth; being neither favour'd
“ nor

“ not supported by any potentate, but rather
 “ expos’d to the contempt and hatred of all
 “ the world: they have nevertheless pre-
 “ serv’d themselves a distinct people with all
 “ their ancient rites, excepting a very small
 “ number of ceremonies, they were necessa-
 “ rily enjoin’d to practise within the bounds
 “ of Judea, and which they are no longer
 “ permitted to do? while that in the mean
 “ time the Institutions of the Egyptians, Ba-
 “ bylonians, Greeks, and Romans (nations
 “ that were much more powerful) are long
 “ ago entirely abolish’d, and brought to no-
 “ thing: and that the names only of certain
 “ celebrated Religions subsist yet in History;
 “ without even so much as the names re-
 “ maining of some other worships, that
 “ doubtless were neither less believ’d, nor
 “ less extended.

This Problem I find answer’d, as it seems
 to me, to satisfaction, in SPINOZA’S *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, towards the end of
 the third Chapter p. 61. of the octavo edi-
 tion, printed 1674. Whose argument I shall
 only enforce by saying, that it seems pretty
 evident, when a man has once suffer’d any
 mark in his flesh, which cannot be defac’d
 or repair’d, purely upon account of his Re-
 ligion, he will not be inclin’d to be per-
 suaded out of it by any thing less than a de-
 monstration; or else some great temporal
 advantages.

And that the Jews are not altogether impregnable to fair usage, notwithstanding Circumcision it self, we have an instance in the above cited page.

The second Problem, you express in this manner :

“ WHETHER a sufficient reason can be as-
 “ sign’d, drawn from the nature and frame of
 “ the Jewish Republic or Religion (without al-
 “ ledging miracles, or promises not account-
 “ ed miraculous, as aforesaid) why, during
 “ the time that they were the independent
 “ Lords of their own country, and that their
 “ Government subsisted in a flourishing con-
 “ dition ; they were perpetually inclin’d
 “ to the most gross Idolatries, always in sus-
 “ pense whether they should follow BAAL or
 “ JEHOVAH, and having a strong propensity
 “ to mix or marry with the women of o-
 “ ther nations, contrary to their fundamen-
 “ tal Laws ? whereas, since their actual dis-
 “ persion among these same nations, they
 “ are obstinately careful to keep their race
 “ entire, without corruption or mixture :
 “ and that, notwithstanding the most agree-
 “ able temptations or the most exquisite tor-
 “ tures, they abhor beyond all expression
 “ Idolatry of every kind ; but particularly
 “ the adoration of dead men (from which
 “ they are evidently exempt) as they are sur-
 “ prizingly

“prizingly uniform in their worship and
“doctrine, which is not deny’d, by any body.

As to the first part of that Problem, this too is in a great measure answer'd by the same Author p. 293, and several of the following pages.

To which I add, that as the mind of man, especially of the vulgar, seems of it self to be prone enough to Idolatry, that is, to worship the Deity under sensible Images, and perhaps by degrees the Images themselves, they might easily in the time of the Judges, slide into that Idolatry, partly thro' conversation with the idolatrous nations that were intermix'd, and a fondness of being like their neighbours, tho' enemies, who were probably more polite than themselves; and partly thro' ignorance, which might be occasion'd by want of copies of the Law; which ignorance I guess to be MICAH's case in the Appendix to the Book of Judges: for MICAH seems to be a person that meant well, Judges xvii. 13: and partly perhaps thro' laziness or an unwillingness to go up to worship at the proper place. Judges xviii. 31.

As for the Kings, the same Author shews that they had sufficient reason not to be overfond of the Levites. If so, I add, that 'twas easy for the Kings to persuade themselves, there was no great matter in ceremonies,

F f 2

that

that God might be worship'd in one place as well as another, either with or without representations: on the same principles as JEROBOAM did, thro' another motive. See JOSEPHUS p. 506 of L'ESTRANGE'S oct. edit. and as easy to persuade the people thro' the scarcity of copies of the Law. Which Law was found in JOSIAH's time after it had been long lost.

As to the second part of the second Problem; I answer: 1. All that are in a state of persecution, are industrious to fortify themselves and their children in the principles of their Religion, and more careful than at other times, in the practice of it.

2. Add to this, that if any one transgresses amongst his own brotherhood in a foreign country, he has neither numbers nor great men to keep him in countenance, as he might have had perhaps upon many occasions in his own country. They are already shun'd by strangers, to be shun'd too by their own fraternity would be absolutely intolerable.

The foundation of the whole seems to be Circumcision: without Circumcision probably they would not have continued a distinct people, nor without being a distinct people, been so obnoxious to the hatred and contempt of others, nor consequently have had
that

that temptation, or rather that provocation to adhere so strictly to their ancient rites.

An answer to this will be a very great favour to

S I R,

*Your admirer and unknown
humble Servant.*

S * * * R * * *

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

TH O' the last *Independent Whig* (1) be an incomparable Paper; yet, as it sometimes happens to the most accurate compositions, there is a slip of memory at the conclusion of it.

The *Tribe of LEVI* had not an equal *share* of Land with the others, nor an equal *right*; but only certain Cities with their suburbs, scatter'd throughout all the Tribes, for their more convenient attendance every where. Yet the Tribes, with respect to their posses-
F f 3 sions,

sions, were still in number twelve; that of JOSEPH, having been divided into two, namely, those of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH. The Tythes and Offerings were given the Tribe of LEVI, instead of their share of the Land. *The Lord spoke unto Aaron* (Numb. xviii. 20.) *thou shalt have no inheritance in their Land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part, and thine inheritance, among the children of Israel.* This is often repeated and inculcated elsewhere. Yet, for all this, the Tribe of LEVI was far from being in a worse condition than their brethren. There was, on the contrary, much better provision made for them than the rest, and with little or no labor to themselves.

1. Thus, all the sin-offerings of all kinds were theirs, except such as were made in their own name or that of the whole Congregation, with those particular portions, which were to be consum'd by fire. See the entire 4th and 6th Chapters of Leviticus.

2. They had the like right to the trespass-offerings, with the like exceptions, as may be seen, Levit. vii. and elsewhere.

3. The same is as true of the peace-offerings, which were many and of various kinds, Levit. xxiii. & *alibi*.

4. Theirs was the oil, that was offer'd by persons infected with the Leprosy, Levit. xiv.

12, 13.

5. Also

5. Also what remain'd of the sheaves of the first-fruits, whereof Levit. xxiii. 10.

6. The two wave-loaves, with the good things accompanying them, Levit. xxiii. 17.

7. The twelve huge loaves of shew-bread, renew'd every week, Levit. xxiv 9.

8. The remainder of the meat-offerings, Levit. vi. 16.

9. The skins of all sacrific'd beasts (no small income) except such as were wholly consum'd with fire, Levit. vii. 8.

10. The breast and right shoulder of all the peace-offerings, and the heave-offerings, Levit. vi. 30, &c.

11. The cakes and the loaves, offer'd with the sacrifices of thanksgiving, Levit. vii. 12, &c.

12. The like things accompanying the ram, offer'd by the Nazarites, Numb. vi. 17—20.

13. The first-born of all clean beasts, that is of all beasts good for any thing, without redemption, Numb. xviii. 15.

14. The first-fruits of all manner of grain and fruits, Numb. xviii. 13.

15. All the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine, &c. in first-fruits, Numb. xviii. 12.

16. The tythe of the tythes, paid by the Levites to the Priests, Numb. xviii. 28.

17. A cake of the first dough from every family, Numb. xv. 20.

18. The first-fruits of wool, from every one that had sheep, Deut. xviii. 4.

19. All devoted things living or dead, particularly fields or farms not redeem'd before the year of Jubilee, Lev. xxvii. 16, 20, 28, &c.

20. Every trespass, that had none to claim it, Numb. v. 8.

21. The shoullder, the two cheeks, and the maw of all beasts kill'd for daily use, Deut. xviii. 3.

22. The mony given for the redemption of the first-born of men, Numb. xviii. 15.

23. The like for the redemption of the first-born of unclean beasts, Num. xviii. 15, 16.

24. The tythes of every kind, which alone were an immense Revenue, *Passim*.

25. The forty eight Cities with their suburbs or liberties, Numb. xxxv. 2, &c.

Now, if the particulars of these and such other heads be consider'd, as several sums of mony from all masters of families, a general poll-tax, bullocks, heifers, rams, lambs, ewes, goats, kids, doves, spices, oil, wine, corn, fruits, wool, skins, stuffs, flower, loaves, cakes, firstlings, wood for the Altar, and diverse other species too tedious to enumerate (besides that mony was to be given in exchange for many of them) the revenues of the Priests might be truly call'd Royal; and, in effect, by virtue of these, they seiz'd on the Royalty it self at last. But several unanswerable reasons may be given, why no set of men among Christians, can derive the least claim from the Priests and Levites,
who

who were peculiarly adapted to the Jewish Theocracy ; and were the Ministers of JEHOVAH the King of Israel, attending in his Palace, &c : whereas there was no manner of Priesthood instituted by JESUS CHRIST or his Apostles, the Elders, whereof we read in the New Testament, having been all Lay-men ; and either the proper Magistrates of the Jewish corporations and communities, or such others set up by the first Christians in imitation of these, for the management of their own private affairs. Nothing in the world can be more easily prov'd than this. Priest, Altar, Sacrifice, &c, are as contrary to original Christianity, as Idolatry, Immolation, Augury, &c. Wherefore, the writer of *the Independent Whig* did very well, in calling the Christian Clergy, the pretended successors of the Jewish Priests : but it was a mistake to say, that the Tribe of LEVI had a right to the twelfth part of the lands, and that the incomes of the Priests were moderate. However, he's safe enough in the ignorance of his adversaries. I am with grateful respect,

S I R,

*Your most faithful obedient
Servant.*

T O

T O

The Right Honourable

THE LORD SOUTHWELL.

London April 27, 1720.

MY LORD,

IF I am guilty of any fault in not doing my self the honor to write to you before now, my Lord MOLESWORTH must answer for it, who told me you waited for the coming of a yacht from Ireland: and I was of opinion my self, that a Letter directed to Mr. SMITH at the Custom-house, before your Lordship's certain arrival, might occasion some mistake, which is easier prevented than excus'd. But this apprehension being now remov'd by advices from Chester, I gladly make use of the liberty you were pleas'd to allow me of writing to you, as I shall regularly continue to do, till I understand from your Lordship that you are weary of the correspondence.

Before all things I earnestly intreat you to accept of my sincerest thanks (the only return my gratitude enables me to make) for the happiness of your acquaintance; which

I

as

as well on account of the honor it reflects on me, as the real improvement I have receiv'd by it, I shall ever infinitely value. I thank you especially for making me known to so many of our Countrymen, to whom I was a greater stranger before, than to most Nations of Europe. Tho' I dare not say, that Philosophy has eradicated all prejudices in favour of my native soil, nor that indeed it ought to produce this effect (since one may be no less a citizen of the world, than of any particular place, by embellishing one quarter, and delighting in it, more than another) yet I can faithfully assure your Lordship, that in the small efforts whereby I have endeavored to serve Ireland, I was acted rather by those principles which teach me what is due to all mankind, than by any bias to that Kingdom, in which I have spent so little of my time. Those eternal notions of Liberty and Slavery, I imbib'd with the first milk I suck'd from the Muses; those notions, I say, which were fortify'd in me by the conversation and writings of the ablest men in England, and which were absolutely perfected by the same means in Holland, as they shall direct my actions during the whole course of my life: so I neither know by the impulses of nature, nor was taught by the precepts of my masters, to restrain the blessings of them to any time or place; much less to make Ireland a single exception, and still by a greater absurdity to make acquiescence to be a conquest,

conquest, or that the conquerors shou'd be as ill treated, if not worse, than the conquer'd. Wherefore you may depend upon it, that I shall lose no time, nor spare any pains to go on with the Work, which your Lordship's desires and my own inclinations have encouraged me to undertake. Materials flow in on me as fast as I can wish: but on this subject I shall have the honour to entertain you more particularly in my next.

I heartily congratulate you on the no less surprizing than agreeable revolution, that has happen'd here since your departure: but as well for your sake as my own, I do not think it proper to enter on the particulars either of the motives or the means, the present effects or the conjectural consequences of this happy Reconciliation of the Royal Family, till I am certain that my Letters come safe to your hands. The same reason must hold as to all other news, public or private; and I hope you'll think it none, that, with the justest sentiments of obligation and respect, I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

most faithful obedient servant.

T O

T O
Mr. T O L A N D.

*Breckdenston near Dublin
June the 25th, 1720.*

SIR,

I Shou'd be glad that any thing my Lord CASTLETON met with in my Lord SHAFTSBURY's *Letters* to me wou'd encourage him to try for heirs to his honours and estate. I think he owes so much to his family and country. I was always of your opinion that those Letters were very valuable for the reasons you give, and had it in my thoughts that it wou'd be a good thing to publish them. But upon farther consideration that my Lord SHAFTSBURY's relations might take it amiss that I divulge family secrets, and that it wou'd be construed a piece of vanity (now much in use) for me to print my own commendations, (as you know there are such in several of those Letters,) I concluded it better to have such publication deferr'd till after my death. If you have any good reasons to think otherwise let me know them. You may, if you think fitting, communicate them to Mr. COLLINS, and take his opinion of them, and what is best to be done with them. I own I am proud enough of having been not only
I so

so intimate with that great man, but to have had a hand in the first forming of his mind to virtue. There are other great Ministers now living for whom I endeavoured as much, but as they have forgot it, so will I. The Lord SHAFTSBURY was of a different temper, and carried on his friendship to my sons, the eldest of which did him signal service in Italy, where (at Naples) he died.

I will consult friends here before I determine any thing touching the reprinting the Irish Pamphlet which I sent you: and if they think it proper I will send you word. You may believe it to be S***'s; for he was here with me to get me to use my interest that no hardship shou'd be put upon the Printer, and did in a manner own it. I believe it was writ in haste, for persons do not always write alike.

I am glad to hear your Book is likely to swell to the bulk you speak of. In Sir JOHN DAVY's History of Ireland, how it came to pass that it was not thoroughly subdued till King JAMES the first's time (whose Attorney General here he was) you will plainly find that the Parliaments of England never intermeddled in the least with the affairs of Ireland from the first conquest to the time he wrote. I have that Book here, and if you find it difficult for you to meet with it there, I will contrive some way to send you mine.

In

In answer to the offer about serving me in any of the Subscriptions now on foot; I shou'd be glad enough to make one among them, and get a little money, (which I need to pay off some debts) in any honest Project. The time, I suppose, is over in the South-Sea Company. Sir T * * * J * * * whose judgment and honesty is to be relied on, is best to be advised with in this, and you may do it if you please in my behalf. I have good credit, having never yet, I thank my stars, forfeited it in any one instance, and shall be beholding to your good friend Sir T * * * (for so he has signally shewn himself to my very great pleasure and satisfaction) if he can put me into a like method.

And as to the Harburg Project, I do not understand what it is; but if I cou'd do it and become one of the undertakers, without great risk (or subscribers), you may speak to Sir A * * * of it. I am desirous of having my small oar in the public boat, and not too obstinately to refuse profit. Since the Nation is a sharing, I have contested long enough, and may now without imputation come in for my part of it; tho' I believe I am too late for any signal gain. However, this matter I refer to my friends, being only sure of one thing, that I have endeavour'd to deserve well both from Britain and Ireland. Adieu.

I am,

*Your most faithful
friend and servant*

MOLESWORTH.

T O

The Right Honourable

THE LORD MOLESWORTH.

London, June 25, 1720.

MY LORD,

THE last I had the honor to write to you was from the South-Sea house, where I never was before that time. Sir T*** has generously kept his word with me, adding a further promise, that on the next such occasion, about three months hence, he'll procure me the liberty of another Subscription, any body else laying down the money, and on that score going halves for the profit, than which there is nothing more common. I wish in the next you'll do me the favour to write to me, you wou'd please to mention him in a manner that may shew his kindness to me has oblig'd your Lordship, as several of my other friends have already thank'd him.

This will come the more naturally from your hands, not only as you are generally known to be my truest Patron, but likewise as your very name (ever auspicious to Liberty) has been made use of to secure this Subscription

scription to me: for the very day before, the Directors, by reason of the multitude that offer'd to subscribe, made a private order that no one person shou'd be in two Lists, and that none except a Parliament-man shou'd subscribe for a thousand pounds. Upon this, Sir T*** put in your name for mine, as being sure you wou'd not take it ill, since there was no time for asking your leave; and that most of the Lords and Commons, who had voted against them, did subscribe, without being supposed by so doing to have in the least alter'd their judgment. In a word, there was no way of securing my Subscription but by a Parliament-man's name, and I my self wou'd not be shelter'd by any name but yours, had he consulted me, for which he had not time.

I was offer'd a thousand pounds advantage three hours after the thing was done, and thirteen hundred this very day: but my benefactor assures me that at the opening of the Books it will be worth a great deal more. You may easily guess I will be govern'd by him in this point. Another such job will make me as easy and independent as I desire, without ever Stockjobbing more: since I may buy an annuity of two or three hundred pounds, tho' the purchase of land is got up to thirty years, and, if things go on at this rate, will mount much higher.

All things are in the utmost tranquillity. Private news I have none, and the public are only such as the papers contain.

I am, &c.

T O

Sir T * * * J * * * .

S I R,

WHENEVER any man profess himself my friend, or at any time did or design'd me a favour, I was always gratefully inclin'd to do him what service lay in my power, unless he became an enemy to the Liberty of our Country, in which case I hold all ties to be dissolv'd, and all obligations cancell'd. As I have known you for many years, not only under as fair a character as any Merchant in London, but likewise a most zealous friend to the British Constitution: so I cou'd not be unconcern'd to see you involv'd of late in the same difficulties with the rest of the South-Sea Directors, whom I cannot persuade my self to be all equally guilty. You in particular have frequently express'd to me your dislike of several measures, when the whole town madly applauded them. You condemn'd the too great power that was lodg'd in a few hands, and the arbitrary use they

they made of it; acting as it were by inspiration (these are your own words) and publishing their Resolutions but a very small time before they were to be put in execution.

I am not acquainted enough with the nature of mercantile Companies, to account why such as disapprove the conduct of their fellow Directors, do not enter their Protests, or signify their disallowance in some public manner, so as to be matter of record. But observing your uneasiness at almost every thing from a little before the third Subscription, I have been urgent with you, ever since the Parliament took this affair in hand, to clear your self with the soonest, as believing you rather imprudent than criminal: for I shall never think ill of any one, of whom I once thought well, till matters of fact make it impossible for me to think otherwise. I have solicited you to be speedy and frank in confessing all you knew, (to which I found you well disposed) as the most certain way to shew a man's innocence, if he be really excusable: and having the honor to wait sometimes on the right honourable the Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH (whose sole view I am confident is doing justice to the Public, without the least prejudice against any particular person) I propos'd to you to wait upon him, and to be as candid as his integrity and your case requir'd. You readily agreed, provided his Lordship wou'd ad-

mit of it: and upon my reporting this to him, he did not think it adviseable to see you without some more of the Committee were present.

This, as far I can remember, was on Wednesday the 18th of January; and accordingly you met some of the Committee at his Lordship's lodgings the next day. To what past there I am an utter stranger, for I cou'd not be so impertinent as to ask his Lordship, what I was sure before hand he wou'd never tell me. All the discourse I had with your self that day was about your Treasurer, whose flight you much lamented, because he cou'd clear and prove what was in no other mortal's power, and that there wou'd be the utmost intricacy and confusion without him. You added, that you little thought of Mr. KNIGHT's intention to withdraw himself, when that very Saturday on which he fled, you were earnestly exhorting him (in conjunction, I think, with Sir ROBERT CHAPLIN) to give the Committee a full account of every thing; and that hereupon he said, *I know the other Directors will lay all upon you of the Committee of the Treasury, and that you'll charge me of course: but if it comes to that, and that I must be oblig'd to say all I know, I shall discover such things as will amaze the world,* or words to this effect. This declaration, you said, had taken from you all suspicion of his designing an escape, and this is the substance of what I remember;

remember; and I repeat these things now, to the end that if ever my name shou'd be mention'd on occasion of the service I heartily design'd you, whether effectual or not, you may be satisfy'd that I acted in all things according to the tenor of this Letter.

I wish you a happy issue out of all your troubles, and am, with the greatest sincerity,

S I R,

Your most faithful
obedient servant.

*A Letter written in the name of a
Member of the House of Commons
to another Member.*

S I R,

I AM very sorry I shou'd be oblig'd to go into the country at this juncture, when the public credit, and a considerable share of my private property, lie at stake. But domestic affairs indispensably require my absence for near a month. I am not, however in any pain about the issue, since most of the Members of our House are so deeply interested themselves, over and above their duty to the State, without whose flourishing condition, we must needs all be miserable. My

G g 3

opinion

opinion concerning the Directors of the South-Sea Company, I'll give as frankly as you desire it, and the rather, because your worthy relation, of whose honour and ability I am equally convinc'd, is chosen one of the Committee to enquire into their conduct. Neither my gains nor losses by the South-Sea are so extraordinary, as to render me too severe or indulgent. But as my concerns requir'd, and my education enabl'd me to examine into this affair with the utmost application, both in justice to my self and my friends; so I have taken all proper methods to gain the truest information. Among other things, I have carefully read over the several Accounts and Papers which have been laid by the Directors before the House of Commons, and made the strictest enquiry, that I cou'd possibly, into the behaviour of those Gentlemen, especially with relation to the several steps they took in the execution of the Scheme which was intrusted to their management. The result I shall briefly and impartially now lay before you.

In the first place, it appears to me (and I believe will be so found upon examination) that the Scheme was form'd, and carry'd on without being communicated to the Court of Directors, or even mention'd to them, till after it was open'd to the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. About three millions of money were in this manner offer'd by the undertakers without their knowledge

knowledge or consent; which you'll own to be a pretty assuming way of proceeding, but perfectly of a piece with their subsequent management. In the sequel of this negotiation, the Bank intervening, and offering to take the Scheme, it was by some people judg'd proper, in order to defeat the proposal of the Bank, to have a power lodg'd in the Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor to offer whatever they should think fit: a power perhaps the greatest that ever was trusted to any two men, and for the consequences of which those only seem responsible, who were so forward to grant it, while others deem'd it unreasonable and dangerous. One of the many bad consequences was, that seven millions and a half of the Company's money, being very near two thirds of every man's property in that corporation, was given at once. If this be the case, as I have all the reasons in the world to believe it was, then I can not with any justice think, that such of the Directors who had no hand in these transactions, who knew nothing of the Scheme till it was brought into the House of Commons, and who probably dislik'd it as much as any others, when they understood how dear they were to pay for it, can be said to be the authors of the mischiefs, which this unaccountable undertaking has brought upon the Nation. Mischiefs they are with a witness, and which I am as far from extenuating, as in my station I shall be from screening the guilty: but I am also persuaded

that with me you will be for distinguishing those who may be innocent, and no less sufferers than the loudest accusers.

I do not find in the general Account of the Proceedings of the Directors, nor yet in their Minutes, any orders given for selling of Stock for the Company's account. If they who peculiarly prosecuted the Scheme, gave directions for the sale of the five hundred and odd thousand pounds, which were dispos'd of about the time of the passing of the Bill, without acquainting the other Directors with it (a circumstance that cannot escape the impartial attention of the Committee) how can that crime be in any justice imputed to those, who were entirely ignorant of it? In God's name let it rest where it ought—but, for reasons you may easily guess, I shall not dwell on this particular.

The Money Subscriptions were taken (as we all know) and hurry'd on in so incomprehensible a manner, that this way of proceeding cou'd not, I dare say, be the result of a number of men acting with cool and deliberate thoughts. 'Tis highly probable that the peculiar contrivers of the Scheme did in their private meetings concert all things beforehand, without the participation or concurrence of their brethren; and so impos'd what they pleas'd upon the rest of the Court, which conjecture of mine, I fancy, will
prove

prove to be matter of fact, when the Directors are examin'd by the Committee. In a word, what thro' the design of some, the stupidity of others, and the avarice of all, the success of the managers was so great, and the applause they met with so universal, that their authority became absolutely uncontrollable in the Court of Directors; nor had it been scarce safe to have oppos'd them, without the imputation of obstructing credit, even among those without doors, they were at that time so much in favor with the inconsiderate people. Thus every Director was oblig'd to submit to a small proportion allow'd him for himself and friends. So the bulk of these Subscriptions was left to the disposal of the Sub and Deputy - Governors, to serve persons of distinction, &c. This, I am credibly inform'd, occasion'd a great deal of murmuring among some of the other Directors, but to no purpose: for the pill must be swallow'd, and you are too well acquainted with the nature of such Courts in other Companies, to imagine that Protests cou'd be either practicable or useful.

No sooner did a good Sum of Money arise by the Subscriptions, but it naturally brought on the question, *what to do with it?* 'Tis rumour'd abroad, and has been privately told me with much assurance, that several of the Directors would have had this money apply'd to the paying off of *the Redeemables,*

deemables, and insisted hard upon it : but this suited not the designs of the Scheme, and so it was carry'd for lending money on Stock and Subscriptions. With what pernicious consequences this fatal resolution has been attended, too too many felt to their sorrow : but I can never be of the mind, nor I presume any of the Committee or the rest of the House, that those Directors who oppos'd it, are in this respect culpable, or ought any way to suffer for it.

You know as well as I or any man, that when Stock begun to fall, great crowds, and among them persons of the first Quality, were daily at the South-Sea House, pressing the Directors to buy. A Cabal is suspected to have then sold a vast quantity of Stock, which is a thing deserving the nicest enquiry. If they influenc'd counsels within, and the Company's money was made use of to buy their Stock, I take it to be a heinous crime in those who were the promoters of such a design. But they, on the other hand, who innocently gave their consent to it, in order to support the price, and hinder the sinking of the Stock, after Subscriptions had been taken at a thousand, and the Redeemables at eight hundred, do not, in my opinion, deserve any blame ; since they did it with a good intent, and cou'd not foresee the sudden and precipitate fall of the Stock.

Thus,

Thus, SIR, I have given you the best information I cou'd about this matter. I have learnt from my own and the experience of past times, not to be sway'd by popular obloquy, no more than by popular favor. There's always a mean in such cases, tho' the bent of the multitude is generally to extremes, being naturally more addicted to confound than to distinguish. Wherefore I cannot but think people are too severe in prejudging and condemning the Directors by the lump: for as I hope, and shou'd be very glad, to see the real Authors of our present uneasinesses brought to condign Punishment; so I shou'd be as sorry, that any honest well-meaning Director shou'd suffer for mismanagement he cou'd not help, and which 'tis very likely he disapprov'd. But these are reflections that cannot escape the wisdom or justice of the Committee, and I hope to be with you my self, before the matter is finally decided. I am, &c.

T O

Mr. * * *

May 21, 1721.

I Have just read over Dr. HARE's new Piece (1). I see he has learn'd from Dr. S * * * to write scandal in his *Title-page*. But I am apt to believe, that, in the drawing up of the Answer it self, he study'd no pattern; and, least of all, his own. He has in my opinion condescended to the meanest of all abuses; and were I to draw up a charge against him, I wou'd do it in the words of SOCRATES, which PLATO (in his *Apology*) introduces him speaking against MELITUS. Ἀδικεῖν Φημὶ ἄρεον, ὅτι σπουδῇ χαριεντίζεται, ῥαδίως εἰς ἀγῶνας καθίσας ἀνθρώπους, περὶ πραγμάτων προσποιούμενος σπουδάζειν καὶ κήδεσθαι, ὧν οὐδεν πώποτε τούτῳ ἐμέλησεν. It shews, I think, no great concern for truth to declare, as he does at his first setting out, that his (2) having promis'd to answer the Bishop was the only motive for doing it. 'Tis a happy expedient he has found out, of mixing his observations on real or suppos'd Atheistical Books and

(1) *Scripture vindicated from the Misinterpretations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor: in his Answer to the Dean of Worcester's Visitation Sermon concerning Church-Authority.*

(2) *Pref. Page 1.*

and Persons, with confutations of the Bishop. This is such an ungenerous insinuation, that (if I cou'd not otherwise guess at the Dean's temper) I must think it owing to the most virulent malice: as if there were something so agreeing between them, that they cannot well be separated. But perhaps he thinks himself qualify'd to be a Drawcansir in controversy. If so, I don't question, but the Bishop will soon prove him mistaken: tho' he is resolv'd, it seems, not to heed whatever is advanc'd against him for the future. Sure no man had ever less reason to insult his adversary with a Q. E. D. at the conclusion of a Paragraph; in which, as far as I am able to judge, whatever he dwells on, either makes for the Bishop, instead of refuting him, or is inconclusive, or entirely false. One manifest contradiction in it, I cou'd not help taking notice of. We are told (in page 6) that *Κύριοι*, when given to civil Governors, is an honourable appellation only; and that *Dominus* is the rendring, not of *Κύριος*, but of *Δεσπότης*. This he himself refutes in page 9, where he says *Κύριος* is equivalent to *Δεσπότης*, and signifies *a property of the Governor in the persons govern'd*.

As to his Quotations for settling the sense of the word *πείθεσθαι*, I am not without some suspicion, that they will all recoil upon himself. ARISTOPHANES I am confident (to whom he chuses particularly to appeal, as writing

in the familiar stile) can't serve his purpose. This Author being a favorite of mine, I was easily induc'd to examine all the places, where he uses this word: and I assure my self it no where signifies *to obey*, in the strict sense of the word. It occurs three times in his **PLUTUS**:

Ἕτεροι δ' ἐπλούτουν Ἱερόσυλοι ῥήτορες,

καὶ συκοφάνται, καὶ πονηροὶ ΚΑΡ. πείθομαι. (3)
and again,

Ὅν ἐγὼ φιλῶ μάλις αὖτις σέ. ΠΛ. πείθομαι. (4)

and again,

τί ἔν' ἀν, τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἴη; πόθεν καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ,
Χρεμύλῳ πεπλυσθὲν ἑξαπίνης; ἔπειθομαι. (5)

And in his **NUBES**, where a stupid illiterate fellow is shewn a Map of the world,

Ἀὖτις δὲ σοι γῆς περιόδοι πάσης. Ὅρα; ;

Ἄιδεσθαι μὲν Αἰθῆραι. ΣΤΡ. τί σὺ λέγεις; ἔπειθομαι. (6)

In all these places it is impossible the word shou'd mean any thing, but *I believe it is as you say*, or *I cannot be persuaded it is so*. The same sense is to be put upon it in this verse of his **ACHARNENSES**:

Κάκις'

(3) Ver. 30.

(4) Ver. 251.

(5) Ver. 335.

(6) Ver. 207.

Κάκισ' ἀπολοίμεν, εἴ τί τούτων πείθομαι. (7)

In the NUBES, where a father is endeavouring to prevail upon his son, to forsake a loose way of living, by all the arts of a mild persuasion, we have the following words :

Ω παῖ, πιθῃ. ΦΕΙ. τί ἔν πιθῆμαι δῆτα σοι (8) ;
 ΣΤ. Ἐκσρεψον ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπους,
 Καί μάνθαν' ἐλθὼν ἄγ' ἐγὼ παραινέσω.
 ΦΕΙ. Λέγε δὴ τί κελεύεις ; ΣΤ. ἢ τί, πείσει ;
 ΦΕΙ πείσομαι. (8)

After this, Justice is represented making use of several arguments to gain him over to her side : but Injustice shews him, to what reproach he will be expos'd, if he suffers himself to be persuaded by the other :

Εἰ ταῦθ', ὃ μεράκιον πείσει πύττω, &c. (9)

The instance out of the VESPAE, upon which the Dean lays so great a stress, is far from declaring in his favour. An old fool is there represented, resolving to continue his practice of frequenting the Courts of Judicature :

(7) Ver. 151.

(8) Ver. 87.

(9) Ver. 996.

cature: and his son endeavouring by several arguments to dissuade him from it, the *Chorus* advises him to comply with his request:

Πιθῶν, πιθῶν λόγοισι, μήδ' ἄφρων γένη. (10)

Can it be said that the father (whose power over the son, according to the Dean, ought to be very great) is here bid to obey the son? The father all this while continues silent. The *Chorus* tells the son, this silence is owing to his being convinc'd of his mistake; and that he will now consent to do, what before he cou'd not be persuaded to:

Ἄ σοῦ παρακείμενος οὐκ ἐπέθετο, (11)
 Νῦν οὖν ἴσως τοῖς σοῖς λόγοισι πείθεται,
 Καὶ φρονεῖ μεθιστὰς ἐς τολοιπὸν τὸν τρόπον,
 Πειθόμενος τὲ σοίγ' —

The son continues to press him to a compliance,

Ἰθ', ὦ πατερ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ πιθῆ. (12)

To which he replies, τί πείθομαι σοί; and upon his son's telling him, not to concern himself with judicial processes, he answers,

(10) ver. 728.

(11) ver 744.

(12) ver. 757.

Τοῦτο δὲ (13)
Ἄδης διακρινεῖ πρότερον, ἢ ἄγὰ πείσομαι.

In all these passages, which very unluckily for some body follow so closely in the same Scene, and which give light to each other, it is manifest that the word has not the sense the Dean wou'd make it confess; but only *to be or not to be persuaded, to comply or disagree*. In the AVES of the same Poet, where a person has a proposal to make, which, if accepted, he thinks will be of great service to the Republic of Birds, we meet with the following words:

Ἡ μεγ' ἐνορῶ βούλευμ' ἐν Ὀρνίθων γένει, (14)
καὶ δύναμιν, ἣ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ πείθεσθ' ἐμοί.
ΕΠ. τί σοι πιθώμεθ'; ΠΕΙ. ὅ, τί πίθοιοσθε; Πρῶ-
τα μὲν, &c.

Here it can signify nothing, but *to follow advice*: and afterwards, where the same person seconds the *Chorus*, in desiring an interview with the Nightingale, it can't be said any obedience is demanded.

ὦ τοῦτο μὲν νῆ Δί' αὐτοῖσιν πιθῶ. (15)

(13) ver. 759.

(14) ver. 163.

(15) ver. 662.

Again we find this terrible word in his *LYSISTRATA*.

Κῶδέ ποθ' ἔκουσα τ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ μῶ πείσομαι. (16)

This is the passage in which the Dean seems to triumph, when he observes, it is here us'd of unwilling obedience. But he's strangely mistaken in the meaning of it. The Athenians are supposed by the Poet to declare war against the Lacedemonians; and the women, not knowing how to spare their husbands, endeavour to oblige them to make peace. Till this is accomplish'd, they bind themselves by oath not to admit them to their embraces. *LYSISTRATA* in the name of the rest reads the oath, declaring she will suffer no man to caress her; that she will stay at home, and adorn her self as much as possible, to appear the more engaging in her husband's eyes; and, that when she has by these arts inflam'd him, she will refuse to satisfy his desire.

Κῶδέ ποθ' ἔκουσα τ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ μῶ πείσομαι. (17)

'Tis strange the Dean shou'd interpret a modest expression for love-familiarity, to be obedience. His Lady, I believe, is of another mind. I forbear to mention, that the
phrase

(16) ver. 223.

(17) Ubi supra.

phrase οὐκ ἔκων πείθεσθαι does not mean to be unwilling to obey in any good author. In PLATO especially, who often makes use of it, it can signify nothing but *not easily to be persuaded*. Οὐκ ἔκων πείθεται, ὁ ῥαδίως ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι, οὐ πάνυ εὐθέως ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι, are with him equivalent expressions. Those I have alledg'd are all or most of the places in ARISTOPHANES, where this same word πείθεσθαι is to be seen; in none of which, I fancy, will it be found big with that authority the Dean contends for.

As to the more serious part of the argument, where he does not refute himself (which I think is often the case) I see nothing but what the Bishop has already answer'd. I shou'd be glad to be inform'd, what relation a considerable part of his Book has to the present Controversy. He is very fond, I observe, of marginal notes; one of which (I mean his emendation of HORACE) I suppose was introduc'd to fix to himself the reputation of a judicious Critic. I was the more surpriz'd at this, because, in the *Post-script* of his *Sermon*, he promised the Bishop, that he wou'd not turn to any other subject to recover that character.

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

*Albemarle-street, January
the 5th, 1721-2.*

S Aturday night about nine I received yours of that day, which gives me such a dismal account of your ill state of health, that I was extremely concern'd at the condition I found you were in, I doubt for want of necessaries.

I cannot forbear wishing you were in town, for I doubt you cannot easily get such broths and bits of easy digestion as I shou'd take care to procure for you. Your Landlady may be a very good woman, and have a great respect for you, but her poverty may prevent her from providing such sort of victuals and drinks, as are proper for a sick man reduced to so weak a condition as I find you are. Indeed I expected you every day in town after the Letter I wrote to you last week, not imagining you had been so much out of order : tho' I saw by your looks that a fit of sickness was growing upon you, which I hop'd your Vomits and Purges had prevented in a great measure.

I intend

I intend to sollicite the Peer your old stingy acquaintance and my neighbour, and see whether a Letter, which I shall send him, will move him once in his life to be generous and charitable.

Your reflexions upon the Physicians, and the Injustice of the World are very right; but you must not indulge melancholy thoughts at such a time. Let it suffice you to know, that although my circumstances are narrow enough, you shall never want necessaries whilst I live. I am sensible that bare necessaries are but cold comfort to a man of your spirit and desert; but 'tis all I dare promise. Tis an ungrateful age, and we must bear with it the best we may, till we can mend it. Adieu, be cheerful, and think of going with me for Ireland.

Yours sincerely,
MOLESWORTH.

T O T H E S A M E.

Munday night 9 a-Clock.

I AM sorry to find you continue so ill, and yet dare not prescribe any thing for you: no sorts of Quacks have credit with you, and I can recommend nothing to you but your own kitchen Physic. Veal broth with
H h 3 barley,

barley, or (if you be enclined to a looseness) with rice boiled in it, is very proper. 'Tis a very sickly time: there is a rot among our Lords, five or six of them are dropt off within this week, yet little loss to the Public.

I am glad you got the Madera, and wish I had a stock of my own to send you more. I beg'd the bottle I sent you from Doctor WELWOOD, for the right sort is not to be bought. I writ the most moving Letter I cou'd invent to your stingy Peer, and he excused his writing an answer; but by word of mouth told my man, that he had already sent you something, meaning, as I suppose, the chetif present my Lady H*** mentions. 'Tis a sad monster of a man, and not worthy of further notice to be taken of him.

I wonder your appetite does not mend in that fine air: 'tis a sign your distemper has not done with you.

Adieu, let me hear from you now and then, since I am not able to see you.

Yours

MOLESWORTH.

To * * *.

Putney, Jan. 28, 1721-2.

SIR,

AS I wou'd never serve my friends by halves, were I in a capacity to be useful to them; so I shall set no other bounds to my good wishes in their behalf, but what nature her self has irrevocably set: and therefore, that all the years of your life, and those of each in your hopeful family, may be attended with health and prosperity, is my very hearty and unfeign'd wish, this year and as long as I live.

The day after I had the honor to see you in London, I fell mighty ill, having been lingring before; and the Doctor that was call'd to me, made me twenty times worse, if possible. All acknowledge that he had like to kill me. I was brought hither the Saturday following (which was the next before Christmas) and have never since been able to go out of my Chamber, scarce to walk cross it for some time. From that day to this I never tasted a bit of meat, being solely confin'd to broths and other liquids; not by the Doctors, but my stomach, which refuses and throws out every thing else: *sit venia*. Had not my Lady H * * * flatter'd

H h 4

me

me more than once in her Letters, that you would be so kind as to call on me; I shou'd have given notice to you before, as to one of my best friends, of the condition I am in, tho' very perceptibly better than I was. I need say no more on this subject.

The last time I was at your house, seeing the young Ladies drudging at the longwinded and unweildy *Cleopatra*, I promis'd to accommodate them with entertainment of that kind, that should please them much more; and especially *Zayde*, the best understood of all Romances. I thought then to be the bearer my self, but since I cannot yet be so happy, I take the liberty to send it now; and, when they have done with this, I shall send 'em another.

I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant.

T O

TO

Mr. T O L A N D.

Thursday, Feb. 8, 1721-2.

Dear S I R,

I Began to be very uneasy at not hearing from you for eight or ten days together, and had order'd my man to walk to Putney this morning, when I receiv'd your Letter last night.

The return of the spring, and your keeping to kitchen Physic, will restore you to health. I would not have you venture abroad too early, altho' I long to see you. Among other things, I wou'd shew you the most noble Collection of Papers, and authentic Records for the writing a History of the late Wars (from King WILLIAM's death to Queen ANNE's Peace) that you can possibly imagine. The Colonel L * * * and I would desire your assistance, and wou'd endeavour to make you find your account in so doing, for so much of your time and pains as should be employ'd that way. But 'tis time enough to talk of this, when you are restor'd to perfect health.

My Lady H * * * is a person very much beyond the rank of our modern Ladies. I have

always esteem'd her as such, and she has as constantly made good my opinion. You and I might give twenty instances of this. But none pleases me better at present than her kindness and charity for you.

I think'tis very wholesome for you not to be troubled with publick news, unless you were better. You will come into a new world when you get once abroad again, and every thing will be strange and diverting to you one way or other. Our weather is too good for the season of the year: but do you keep to a great fire side till March be far advanc'd. Our Parliament will be up in a fortnight, and I intend to sit in no future one.

Adieu.

Yours,

MOLESWORTH.

T O

The Right Honourable

THE LORD MOLESWORTH.

Putney, Friday-Noon.

MY LORD,

WHEN I seem'd to be in a fair way of mending, my old pains in my thighs, reins, and stomach, seiz'd me violently two days ago ; with a total loss of appetite, hourly reachings, and very high colour'd water. I take it for granted, that these are symptoms of approaching Gravel, and therefore I comfort my self with the thoughts, that when this Gravel comes, I shall together with it be discharg'd from my pains.

In my last, I told your Lordship, that tho' your resolution of serving in no future Parliament, might be beneficial to your self, it wou'd be detrimental to your Country : but if I had not been in haste to finish a long Letter, I should have added, that upon secret thoughts, even your Country wou'd be a gainer by a retirement from business at this age. My reasons and examples for supporting this assertion are numerous. Yet

considering my present unfitness for writing, I shall only trouble you with the example of **CICERO**, who during the seven year's space that he was forcibly kept out of business, wrote all those incomparable Books, which are much more useful to the world, than the whole course of his Employments. The great noise he made in the Forum has not contributed near so much to his Immortality, as the fruits of his Retirement, whereof nevertheless we have but the least part remaining. In like manner, **MY LORD**, that excellent work, wherein you have made such progress, and which seems to resemble so nearly *CICERO de Republica*, will be a nobler task, and more useful to mankind, than any Senatorial efforts : *nec aliud scribendi genus tam è dignitate vestra mihi videtur.*

I am, &c.

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

March 1, 1721-2.

Dear TOLAND,

I Wonder I hear nothing from you or of you : you must needs be very ill, or careless ; I had much rather it were the last. I hope altho' I do not send you supplies (such small ones as I can afford) yet that you wou'd be so free as to ask me in case you wanted them, for I am one of those who with a friend desire freedom, and expect to be told when other resources fail. Pray let me hear from you often. I am sometimes very much indisposed, sometimes tolerably well in health ; now I am the latter, but that may not continue.

You will see that I am embark'd in a grand affair, no less than standing for Westminster. I have employ'd all my friends as solicitors and runners about, and great hopes are given me. I am sorry you are not in a state of health to do me service. Believe me, when I tell you, you shall fare as I do,
and

and if that be not extraordinary well, blame not.

*Your affectionate
friend and servant,*

MOLESWORTH.

Mr. T O L A N D's

A N S W E R.

Putney, March 2, 1721-2.

MY LORD,

I Was never a careless correspondent, or were I so to any, sure I am, it should not be of all mankind to your Lordship. Neither was it for not needing assistance of my friends, I have been so long silent; but by reason of almost incessant pains, and very extraordinary weakness. Two or three days before your servant call'd here last, I grew much worse than I was; and from a mending state (the vigour of my mind increasing, tho' with little influence on the infirmity of my body) I relaps'd again into all my former symptoms, more frequent and malignant than ever. This has oblig'd me to put my self into the hands of a Physician, who I believe to be an honest man, prepares his own medicines, and explains every thing he does to me. He has

has already put me to several little expences, some of them extremely useful to my poor corpuscle, as four dimitty waistcoats, which a visit from Sir T*** J*** enabled me to pay. I need not descend to more particulars, ready pence going necessarily out every day.

Since you will embark once more on that troublesome sea, I heartily wish you all good luck, and wish I had been able to run for you night and day, which with great ardor I wou'd. I am, with the utmost truth and zeal,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

*most humble and
most obedient servant.*

F I N I S.

A N
A P P E N D I X,
CONTAINING
S O M E P I E C E S
FOUND AMONG
Mr. *T O L A N D*'s
P A P E R S.

VOL. II.

3



OF THE
IMMATERIALITY
OF THE
S O U L,
AND ITS
DISTINCTION
FROM THE
B O D Y:

BY

Mr. BENJAMIN BAYLY, M.A.

Rector of St. JAMES's in Bristol.

IN A
LETTER TO ***.

SIR,



It is with no small pleasure and instruction that I have read those Papers, that lately pass'd between you and the learned and reverend Mr. CLARKE, concerning the *Immateriality of the Soul*; and although it would be too great presumption

4 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

tion in me, to pretend to determine on which side the advantage in that Controversy lay, yet certainly you engage me to you too powerly in some particulars, and if I may not say you demonstrate against Mr. CLARKE, yet I and the whole world must say, you demonstrate most evidently your own incomparable parts and understanding. So that if a man should fancy you worsted in that dispute, yet however it was not Mr. CLARKE that worsted you, tho a very learned and ingenious man; but that invincible thing, Truth, which at that time peradventure one might conceit your enemy. But let that be as it will, my intention is not to meddle in it, but rather to propose to you an Argument of somewhat a different kind, and which seems to me freer from exception. And as your great Candour and Ingenuity, and the general Reputation you have for a man of unspotted virtue, as these make you highly deserve any endeavours that can be used, to set you right in matters of an important nature; so the same virtues, I am sure, must render any such endeavours highly acceptable to you, from whomsoever they proceed, and how weak soever they should prove. 'Tis true, you profess to believe the Soul immortal, from the authority of divine Revelation, and because you profess to believe this grand principle of all Religion, it would be the utmost uncharitableness in any man to question it; especially, when no contradiction, but the highest agreeableness

ableness to this belief, is found in your life and conversation; but how to make this belief agreeable to your sentiments about the Soul, is verily a difficulty with me; and if I could have reconciled this, or made you consistent with yourself, I should not have troubled you on this point, notwithstanding you had held the Soul corporeal. I shall wave any farther introduction or ceremony to you, and lay before you the argument itself, which, if you please to consider, and give your thoughts on it, you will both shew me an extraordinary civility, and perhaps give some farther light to the subject, upon which you have been lately employ'd.

THE Argument is in PLATO (1); and as his writings you know are, it proceeds by way of Dialogue, between SOCRATES and ALCIBIADES. The substance of it, I shall endeavour to translate, and then make some remarks upon it.

“ *Socra.* Who is he that discourses
 “ with you? Is it not SOCRATES? And who
 “ is he that hears? Is it not ALCIBIADES?
 “ *Alcib.* Doubtless. *Socra.* And what is this
 “ business of discoursing? Is it any thing but
 “ a man’s using speech? Are not these the
 “ same? *Alcib.* It is not to be deny’d. *Socra.*
 “ Is not then he that uses a thing, and

(1) PLAT. Alcib. 1st.

6 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

“ the thing used, different, distinct from one
“ another ? *Alcib.* How say you, SOCRATES ?
“ *Socra.* To the purpose. Consider any handy-craftsman. Is he not different from the
“ tools and instruments that he uses in his
“ work ? The thing that cuts from the person
“ that cuts with it ? *Alcib.* Past question.
“ *Socra.* What ? in regard to any musical Instrument, is not the thing the same ? Is
“ not the Lute one thing, and he who plays
“ on it another ? *Alcib.* Confess'd. *Socra.*
“ And this, ALCIBIADES, was the purpose of
“ my question to you just now, whether he
“ that uses a thing, and the thing used, do
“ not always appear different, distinct, things ?
“ *Alcib.* They do so indeed. *Socra.* Very
“ good ! And pray what does one of these
“ handy-craftsmen in exercise of his occupation use ? *Alcib.* He uses his instruments.
“ *Socra.* Does he not use likewise his hands ?
“ *Alcib.* His hands likewise. *Socra.* And
“ his eyes ? *Alcib.* I grant ye. *Socra.* And
“ was it not before granted, that he that uses
“ a thing, and the thing used, are different ?
“ and consequently that the Musician, or any
“ other artist is different, not only from his
“ instruments, but from his hands and eyes,
“ those parts of the Body that he uses ? *Al-*
“ *cib.* Very true. *Socra.* And does not a
“ man use his whole Body ? *Alcib.* I think
“ so indeed. *Socra.* Carry this still along
“ with you, That the thing used, and he who
“ uses it, are different. *Alcib.* I remember it,

“ SOCRA-

“SOCRATES. *Socra.* I therefore conclude,
 “that what we call a Man is a thing entirely
 “different from his Body. *Alcib.* I cannot
 “deny it. *Socra.* What is it then in this
 “composition that we may most properly
 “call the Man? *Alcib.* Nay, in that you
 “must excuse me, SOCRATES. *Socra.* What!
 “know you not what it is that uses the Bo-
 “dy? *Alcib.* Full well. *Socra.* Is it any
 “thing but the Soul? *Alcib.* No, certainly.
 “*Socra.* And is not this what rules and go-
 “vern the Body? *Alcib.* No doubt.”

THIS, in my opinion, will furnish us with
 idea's, at least lay a foundation of proving (I
 had almost said demonstrating) the Soul's di-
 stinction from the Body.

AND in order to it, I shall first premise a
 few things, that my meaning may be the
 more clearly apprehended; and next, consider
 more exactly, the force of the preceding
 Argument.

1st, IT is not my intention from this ar-
 gument, to conclude any thing immediately
 touching the nature of the substance of the
 Soul, not indeed whether it be perfectly im-
 material, divested of all the properties of mat-
 ter, (as I take it *immaterial* signifies) and con-
 sequently of extension, as well as others; al-
 though it be often retain'd by some who con-
 ceive the Soul immaterial and goes into its

8 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

idea, which seems to me very disagreeable. For what is immaterial but a negation of all matter? And while men assert this of the Soul, they should still continue to it, the primeſt property of matter, if not repugnant, yet for certain is extreamly incongruous, and the ground of endless difficulties and jargon. But with this, I have nothing to do here. By the Body, we underſtand this corruptible ſyſtem of matter, which is made up of divers parts, blood, animal ſpirits, &c. and a particular diſpoſition and organization of thoſe parts; and my intent is to prove the Soul none of theſe, no mode, quality, power or faculty of any of theſe ſeparately, neither the reſult of the whole taken together; but that which thinks in us is a ſubſtance, and a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body. And I rather chuſe to call the Soul a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body, than call it immaterial; becauſe many men have taught the Soul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body, and yet have diſcourſ'd of it as material (as did, I conceive, TERTULLIAN) but then their idea of this matter, of which they thought the Soul to partake, was vaſtly different from their idea of the Body: it was matter of a different kind, matter and matter differing in their language and idea's, almoſt as much perhaps, as Spirit and Body does now according to the moderns. With the rectitude of this way of thinking, I have nothing to do.

2dly, WHAT we understand here by the terms *substance, faculty, mode, &c.* By *substance*, we conceive something that subsists of itself, and that is the subject of what we term *properties, powers, faculties, modes, &c.* These latter cannot subsist, nor act of themselves, and this is what distinguishes between them : all powers and faculties must be powers and faculties of something, as Mr. LOCKE says somewhere, *to conceive of a thing as capable of acting, is to conceive of it as a substance* ; and therefore to conceive thus of any faculty, we depart from our idea of a faculty, and conceive of it as a substance ; and if we can for certain demonstrate any thing to act of itself, we demonstrate it to be a substance ; and if we can prove the Soul thus to act of itself, we prove it a distinct substance from the Body.

3dly, BY the *Soul*, I understand something that thinks within us. And this I say, on purpose to prevent any suspicions in you, that I endeavour to impose on myself or you, by taking that for granted, which ought to be proved ; as possibly might be imagin'd, when I say, *the Soul acts upon the Body, &c.* by which I do not suppose the Soul and Body two distinct substances, but Soul is equivalent with me to Thought, or the power of thinking, be it what it will.

4thly, WHAT I mean by *different or distinct substances*. Now it is certain, we may
and

10 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

and are very apt to fancy differences and distinctions as to things where there are really none. As for example ; any system of matter, any common stone or pebble, is one distinct thing or substance, but yet it is made up of several parts ; but from this distinction of parts, it would be a strange way of arguing, when the question is concerning any one Body or System of Matter, hence to infer it several distinct things or substances, because the thing itself consists of these several parts, in a peculiar way disposed and united. So in considering Man, I would not impose such a gross fallacy on myself, because in this composition, I can conceive it made up of several parts, hence to infer man compounded of several distinct substances. It avails nothing therefore, unless these parts can be proved of a different distinct kind. Thus you see I labour to free myself from all ambiguity of expression ; and if I am impos'd on, I am sure it is not with my own knowledge and consent.

TO return to the Argument of SOCRATES, in which two things are carefully to be consider'd :

I. WHETHER the Soul acts upon the Body, or uses it as an instrument or organ.

II. WHETHER this demonstrates a real and substantial distinction between Soul and Body.

1st,

Ist, WHETHER the Soul acts upon the Body, or uses it as an instrument or organ. That is, when the parts of the Body are sound and rightly disposed, whether Thought or this thinking power doth not communicate motion to them, influence, direct, govern them. This every man experiences, at least of many parts of the Body ; my hands, eyes, &c. I move according to the direction or determination of my will. The only doubt that can be started, is, whether Thought thus moves the whole body, or whether there are not some invisible parts, viz. the Brain, and animal Spirits, from whence this motion or influence is derived. I undertake therefore to prove this proposition, *viz.*

THAT the motions of the Body, such as we term voluntary, proceed not ultimately from the Brain, or any other invisible parts of the Body, but from Thought, or the power of thinking.

FOR example, my hand is at rest ; by the determination of my will, I move it. What is that that moves my hand ? According to the common hypothesis, immediately I confess it is the Muscles, animal Spirits, &c. But then what moves, or at least differently determines them ? (for it must be granted, the muscles and animal spirits that immediately move my hand, must receive motion, or a different deter-

12 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

determination of motion, when my hand moves, from what they were in, when my hand was at rest) I say then, from whence proceeded this motion of the Nerves, animal Spirits, &c. that immediately mov'd my hand? We will say, from some parts or part of the brain. (And in this, we say no more than can be prov'd, what none that I know, deny.) But what moves, or at least gives a different determination of motion to this part of the brain, from whence this motion in my hand is derived? (for it must be granted again, that this part of the brain, from whence this motion to my hand is derived, must be at that instant put into motion, or some different disposition, or determination of motion, from what they were in when my hand was at rest. These parts of the brain cannot be in the same motion or disposition, when my hand moves, as when my hand was at rest.) Well! I say, what gives these parts of the brain this motion, or this different disposition or determination of motion? Must it not be resolved into thought or the power of thinking? for certainly here is nothing else to do it.

LET us examine 2dly, Whether this argues two distinct Substances in Man, whether this will infer that that thinks in us, to be a Substance different from the Brain, animal Spirits, &c. I think in truth, this is as demonstrable.

FOR

FOR certainly, If a Body at rest, moves, something must put it into motion; again, if a Body in motion, be differently determin'd in its motion, something must alter, or differently determine its motion, or else the Musician might be the same thing with his Fiddle, the Horse with his Rider, and the Tennis-ball with the Wall, that rebounds it. To be guilty of a little tautology. Here is a Body at rest. It is moved. Must it not be something that moves it? Again, here is a body moving in a strait line, it instantly changes from this to a circular one. Can this be without something that changes and guides its motion? The parts of the brain are at rest, or under some peculiar motion, or disposition; this thinking power gives these parts motion, or a different disposition or determination of motion. Must not this therefore be some real subsisting thing, different from the brain or the parts of it, that it moves or directs? I saw once a Physician by moving the nerves, at some distance from the hand, move the hands and the fingers in a Skeleton diverse ways. Was not the Physician different from the Skeleton? What the Physician did, Thought did in the living man more compleatly. Why is not then that which thinks in us a different thing from the body, that it moves? I know not, how other men think, but it seems to me, I have hardly about any thing more clear Ideas. But yet to examine this matter the most severely,

14 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

I will therefore fancy to my self three Suppositions, whereby I will endeavour to solve this, without the assistance of a distinct Substance from the body.

1st, I will examine, whether some part or parts of the brain cannot move, or differently determine themselves.

2dly, WHETHER this may not arise from some peculiar organization, &c.

3dly, WHETHER a power of self-motion cannot be superadded by GOD to some peculiar part or parts of the brain. As I have not met with any thing very different from these, so I believe it is not easy to form any very different hypothesis.

1. WHETHER some parts of the brain, cannot move or differently determine themselves. The parts of the brain are matter, and whatsoever a man may fancy about the powers of matter, one can never fancy matter, when once at rest, capable of giving it self motion, or differently determining its own motion; no more than it can convert it self from a square to a round figure: which, if it could do, I know not what it might not do, it might give it self understanding and wisdom as well, and all other attributes of the Deity. And this is not only the case of Matter, but of
any

any other thing; to talk of giving itself that, which it had not, is a plain contradiction, because giving supposes the being already possessed of that, which is to be given, and yet the latter clause supposes, that it has not, that which is to be given. So that if by matter's moving it self, be understood of matter's giving it self motion, (and it must give it self motion, or another must give it, for motion cannot arise out of nothing) nothing can be more evidently absurd. But no body imagines so absurd a thing.

YES really, I think, he imagines the self same thing, who thinks, that matter at rest, be it the brain, or any other matter, can move itself, can stop or differently determine its own motion. For while matter is at rest, motion is not in it; while it moves in a right line, it moves not in a circular one. When it moves therefore here is an addition of motion made to it; when it moves from a strait to a circular line, its motion is changed. Whence is this motion in the first case, this alteration of motion in the second case? The force and interposition of another being, is disown'd. If therefore this motion be derived from it self, must not itself give it? for certainly here is something added, when motion is added, here is something that was not before; which must be derived from itself or some other being. But may it not have a
power

16 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

power of moving itself, although it doth not always actually move?

STILL we cheat our selves with terms. For what is this power of motion in matter? To me it is nothing but a capacity of being moved, and then still it will require some other thing to move it, as in many cases, a power in things, signifies nothing, but a capacity of being acted on; but in this case, I think it is clearly so. For if you take power here for something active in matter, I would ask you two things. First, when this power is brought into act, or influences the parts of matter, whether matter then is not passive, or receives not the influence of that power, (this it must surely do, or else matter would never move) and yet in regard this power of motion is a power of matter, I would ask you again, whether matter is not at the same time active. So that the same parts of matter, it seems, at the same time, are both active and passive. Can you reconcile this? that at the same time, matter should be both active and passive, or act and not act? To me again this has the face of a very gross contradiction. If you say, this power acts separately on matter, and so exerts itself on the parts of matter: I agree with you, but then this is evidently our Idea of a Substance distinct from matter.

2dly. SEEING in the present case of voluntary motions, this force that moves the
brain,

brain, and upon which the motion in my hand depends, I say, seeing this force is not actually exerted upon the parts of the brain, when I move not my hand (for if it were actually exerted, my hand would actually move) I would ask you what it is that actually exerts it, and again stops it. We all feel, it is done by the mediation of our wills; but willing is nothing towards moving or determining any parts of matter, unless some force or influence attends it. And the point is, to what belongs this force and influence: if you say to matter, you make the thing to be moved, and that which moves it, all one; and again you suppose, such a power in matter, that I dare say, is your own and every body's idea of a substance; and you prove to me that which thus acts upon matter, to be no substance, and I will prove to you, matter is no substance. But of this again hereafter. I suppose not this your opinion, that matter as such, can move it self; but rather the others remaining. I proceed therefore to examine,

II. In the 2d place, Whether this may not arise from some peculiar disposition of parts, organization, &c. Whether this way cannot be explain'd these voluntary motions. And I think, it is impossible. By disposition and organization of parts, I understand a sort of clock-work or mechanism, from whence we will suppose thinking to result. What sort of mechanism or disposition of parts, this as

you will not undertake to shew, so I shall not trouble you, nor my self about; whatsoever it be, I hope to prove clearly, voluntary motions can be the result of no such thing.

1. I suppose you will grant me that any mechanism whatsoever can produce nothing but necessary acts or effects, and if you suppose the Soul the result of any sort of organization or disposition of parts, in my present conceit I think my self able to maintain, this result, viz. the Soul, either a different substance from the mechanism, disposition of parts, or else man a necessary agent; for thinking here follows from this organization and disposition of parts, and consequently must not only be necessary in general, but in the several and particular acts of it; and choice and willing being particular ways or modes of thinking, these must be necessary, as necessary as striking in a clock. So that here will be an end of all sort of Liberty and freedom in man; and because I believe, we have demonstration for these, we have certainly demonstration against thinking's being any result of mechanism and disposition of parts, &c. I take it here it is impossible you can defend any sort of liberty in man, if thinking be nothing but the result of mechanism. For the cause that produces thinking, acts necessarily, and hence that thinking should be free, is a perfectly unintelligible thing. For thinking is the effect, and that the effect should be

be free, when the cause acted necessarily, that produced it, is perfectly irreconcilable to itself; unless you take the effect, which the disposition of parts, &c. which is nothing but the power of mechanism, produced, for something disengaged from this mechanism, for something free, and that depends not upon the mechanism; then indeed you can defend freedom, but then this thinking power is no longer a power of the mechanism, an effect that mechanism produces, but a distinct thing and substance. And I most passionately long to have you arguing on this point, denying Liberty in man, or defending it on your principles; making thinking the result of mechanism or a disposition of parts, altogether a necessary effect, and yet a free thing. But what do I talk of a free thing? thinking is the result of mechanism of a certain organization and disposition of parts, doth not therefore this certain organization, disposition of parts, &c. produce thinking? And then what is thinking here but an effect? And to talk of an effect's acting, is ridiculous and contradictory, as if a man should talk of the striking in a clock's acting, when striking is conceived as nothing but an effect produced by the disposition of parts in the clock. 'Tis true, to say there is a power in the clock to strike, is well, because this is the cause of it: but to consider striking as the result of this power in a clock, as something arising out of it, and actually produced, this is to

20 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

consider it as an effect; and to talk of an effect's acting, is either to consider an effect, as some real thing that can act of itself, or else is down right nonsense. And yet I have heard men discourse, that the power of thinking is the result of mechanism, of some disposition of parts, &c. of the brain, which, if this power be no real thing, is idly call'd a power, it is only a bare effect, and can no more act, than as I said striking in a clock can act; and if the case be so, if thinking flows from a disposition of parts, mechanism, power of the system, (for these words signify much the same) to me, there hath not been a greater cheat, a greater folly in all ages, than this notion of the Liberty and freedom of man.

TO make this yet clearer if possible. Thinking arises from matter organized, or disposed after some peculiar manner, that we know not, into a system. We must therefore affirm, if there be nothing in man but matter, that matter thus disposed, &c. thinks. I here ask you, whether it be not agreeable to your ideas, that if nothing guides matter thus disposed, there could be no such thing as freedom; for freedom implies in some cases, a power of acting or not acting; but you can never deduce this from any being, that has nothing in it, but matter disposed into a system. For there being nothing to hinder its operations, it would always act or operate, where the cause were sufficient; where the cause were not sufficient,

sufficient, no operation or effect would succeed. And hence, if I mistake not, Mr. HOBBS was obliged, from this principle to deny all Liberty in man. But I am sensible I tire you.

2dly, NEITHER is this supposition of thinking's resulting from matter organized, &c. less contradictory to the sense and experience of mankind, touching the force and energy that the Soul has upon the mechanism or system it self. Certainly our idea of any thing, that arises from the organization of matter, implies a necessity in that which is supposed to result from it, it is under a sort of subjection, and is a slave to that mechanism or organization, is made out of it. But now thinking is such a vigorous active thing, that it turns upon its very author, and lords over it, commands the system or machine it self, and how will you reconcile this to organization or mechanism? There is striking in a clock (I use this boldly, because it hath been your own illustration) which is a quality or effect resulting from the disposition of its parts; now should this striking be able to return upon the mechanism, rectify, alter, suspend its motions, would not this be a marvellous thing? Indeed it is senseless to suppose it. Does not thinking do this? Is it not by this, we move the whole machine of the body from place to place, that we guide, suspend, new determine many of its motions and operations? To me it is clear, if think-

22 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

ing resulted from any disposition of parts, quite the contrary would follow: thinking could do nothing on the body; but here, a different disposition or motion of the parts of the body is produced by thinking. This is strangely contrary to my ideas.

III. I proceed to the 3d supposition, Whether a power or faculty of self motion, cannot be superadded by God to some peculiar part or parts of the brain. This was originally Mr. LOCKE's, and although no person has a higher esteem for that great man, yet I cannot but look on this notion as an error and slip in his writings.

THIS hypothesis differs from the former in this, viz. the former, supposes matter and motion under some certain disposition and organization of parts capable in it self of producing thinking: this, supposes matter and motion in itself, howsoever disposed and modify'd, entirely incapable of thinking; else there had been no need of recurring to the power of God. So that if we suppose the body of man framed exactly, as now it is, yet if this faculty of thinking were not superadded by God, it would be a machine indeed, a system, but would never think. I have two or three things to observe to you upon this.

1. THIS however is as unlikely to be apprehended and entertained by sceptical men, as the old common hypothesis, of God's introducing and superadding to the system of the body, an immaterial substance; because this as equally requires the immediate application of a divine power, to superadd this faculty as a distinct substance: and I believe, it is much the same with them, to suppose God superadding either faculties or substances; their hopes and expectations for certain, extending farther; that thinking might arise from bare matter and motion, without any act of a superior cause. But unquestionably you being not of that crew, which is for jostling God out of the world; I own, the observation idle and impertinent.

HOWEVER, it hath been thought an objection to the supposition of two distinct substances in man, that it requires the constant and immediate application of the Deity, perpetual creations towards the propagation of mankind; and this requires something like it, a constant and perpetual superaddition of faculties to every individual man, nay if you allow (as I perceive you do) brutes to have sense, here must be a superaddition of a faculty of sensation to every one of them too, *to mice, and lice, and mites, &c.* which although not quite so absurd as the creation

24 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

of distinct substances, yet will I believe have such a share of it, as will not easily be digested. If you assert this superadded faculty communicated from father to son, &c. if I not greatly mistake, this will have likewise a plentiful share of absurdity.

2dly, ACCORDING to this doctrine of the superaddition of faculties, as well as according to the foregoing, I intreat you to consider, how to conceive the Soul of man immortal. You receive this principle from divine revelation. Granted. But yet you may so conceive of the soul, as to render that promise of immortality impossible to be fulfilled, as I believe, it is impossible, according to the preceeding Schemes. For immortal, I presume, you apply to the soul itself, not the body; for every one sees the body mortal and perishing. The soul therefore this promise concerns, and by its immortality, I presume, you understand that it exists, and acts, and thinks after the dissolution of the body; that it doth not remain in an estate of insensibility, till the resurrection. If this be your opinion of the immortality of the soul, which, I think must be of all such, as hold it immortal, I would fain know how you can reconcile this to your principles. For it is clear, if thinking naturally arises from such a disposition of parts, &c. and death destroys this disposition, it destroys the soul
and

and its thinking. One of these two things, must be said here. First, either that God preserves some parts of the body from dissolving at death, to which thinking more especially belongs. To this many things might be opposed, but all I shall say to it, is this : methinks it argues those parts so very peculiar from the rest of the body, that it looks like a distinct substance, and it seems extravagant for a man to deny the Soul a distinct substance, when he allows between the parts of the body such a vast distinction. Or else, 2dly, something more absurd must be said, viz. that God can preserve a meer mode of a body, without the body itself, without its subject, which is worse than *Transubstantiation*.

'TIS the same, according to the supposition of the Soul's being a faculty of thinking's superadded by God. If you say this power or faculty can be preserved without some subject, it is clearly to me a substance, it being entirely contrary to our idea's, that powers and faculties should exist of themselves, or be supported in being, even by the power of God. I must imagine therefore, while the argument lies under this view, many things that Mr. DODWELL asserts to a man of your understanding and clearness of conception, must appear strange paradoxes, because you seem to me to trust to Reason, as the principle
that

26 OF THE IMMATERIALITY

that is to direct you in matters of belief; and I can never think you can reconcile the subsistence of Accidents and Modes, Powers and Faculties, whatsoever hard names are given to them, to your Reason. But this only by the by.

3dly, IT is suppos'd by this notion of thinking's being a faculty superadded to matter by the power of God, as before premis'd, that matter in itself, howsoever disposed, moved, and organized, would not think; and it is quite two different things, so to dispose matter, that matter thinks, and to superadd a faculty of thinking to it. In the first case, matter is made to think; in the latter, this thinking faculty thinks in it. There is as much difference between these, as between the second and last hypothesis, which indeed are your own; for how often do you distinguish to Mr. CLARKE, between thinking's being a power of matter, under such or such a texture, motion, &c. and a superaddition of a faculty of thinking to it by God? which must suppose some distinction between them: and the distinction is this, matter may be so disposed and moved as to think, or else may have a faculty of thinking superadded by God. Now, I say, our idea of this latter case supposes matter not to think, but the faculty superadded to think in it; for before this thinking faculty was superadded, although the
system

system of the body were just as it is, the body would not think: so that if in thinking, this thinking faculty any ways depends upon the disposition and motion of the parts of the body, or system, it is owing to the divine appointment; and if God had so appointed, this thinking faculty would have thought as well in a stone, a clod of earth, as in an organized body, nay, without any body at all. As 'tis plain: for according to our present supposition, howsoever the divine power had modify'd or dispos'd matter, thinking would never have proceeded from it. How therefore doth the bare system concur towards thinking? Nothing at all certainly in itself. And if it concurs nothing at all, (I mean any otherwise than God hath so order'd it) this thinking faculty is a substance. Again, it may think as well in any other body, as a system, or organized body. Lastly, as well without any body at all, as with it. All which confirms that this notion is the same with that it pretends to differ from; and if some understand the same by power as others do by substance, I have nothing to do to oppose them, provided they do not think themselves all the while far above others in point of knowledge and discovery of truth.

THUS, Sir, I have freely represented to you what my thoughts suggested on this subject,

28 OF THE IMMATERIALITY, &c.

ject, and have no other aim in the world, but a profound respect to you and truth, which you so constantly profess in your Writings. If I am under mistakes, it will be charity in you to point them out to me, and shall be ever most gratefully receiv'd and acknowledged by

Your very humble Servant.



CRITI-



CRITICAL REMARKS

U P O N

Mr. TOLAND's BOOK,


ENTITLED,

*Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and
Mahometan Christianity :*

C O N C E R N I N G

The Opinions of the Cerinthians,
Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Na-
zarens.

NAZARENUS, c. 6. p. 17.

“  HE Cerinthians before them, (i.e.
“ the Basilidians) and the Carpocra-
“ tians next, (to name no more of
“ those who affirmed JESUS to have
“ been a meer man) did believe the same
“ thing, that it was not himself, but one of
“ his followers very like him, that was cruci-
“ fied.”

THE

30 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

THE Author has not referred us to any ancient Writer for the confirmation of the account here given ; and it is apparently different from that which IRENÆUS, and after him EPIPHANIUS, have given of CERINTHUS's opinions.

IRENÆUS's words are :

Cerinthus docuit fuisse eum Joseph & Mariæ filium . . . & post Baptismum descendisse in eum Christum, ab ea principaltate, quæ est super omnia figura columbæ, & tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, & virtutes perfecisse ; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, & Jesum passum esse, & resurrexisse : Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem. Adv. Hæref. lib. 1. c. 25.

Cerinthus taught that he (i. e. Jesus) was the Son of Joseph and Mary . . . and that after his Baptism Christ came down upon him from that principality which is above all things, in the figure of a Dove ; and then gave an account of the unknown Father, and wrought Miracles ; but that at last Christ flew back from Jesus : and that Jesus suffered, and rose again ; but that Christ continued incapable of suffering, being of a spiritual nature.

EPIPHANIUS's words are :

Οὗτος ἐκηρυττεν . . . ἀνωθεν . . . ἐκ τῆς ἀνω Θεῷ

His Doctrine was . . . that after Jesus, who sprung

μετα το αδρυνηθαι τον
 Ιησυν τον εκ σπερματος
 Ιωσηφ καὶ Μαρίας γήγ-
 νημενον κατεληλυθεναι
 τον Χριστον εις αυτον, τρι-
 πσι το Πνευμα το αγι-
 ον εν ειδει περισερας εν
 τῷ Ιορδανῇ· και απηγα-
 λυψαι αυτῷ, και δι
 αυτου τοις μετ' αυτου τον
 Αγνωστον Πατερα· Και
 δια τῆτο, επειδη ηλθεν
 ἡ δυναμις εις αυτον ανω-
 θεν, δυναμεις επιτελη-
 κεναι· Και αυτος πεπον-
 θῶς το ελθον ανωθεν
 αναπληναι απο της Ιησυ
 ανω, πεπονθοτα δε τον
 Ιησυν, και παλιν εγη-
 γημενον· Χριστον δε τον
 ανωθεν ελθοντα εις αυ-
 τον απαθη αναπλαντα,
 οπερ εστι το κατελθον
 εν ειδει περισερας· και ο
 τον Ιησυν ειναι Χριστον.
Haeres. 28. Edit.
Hervag. Basil. p. 53.

sprung from the seed
 of Joseph and Mary,
 was grown up to his
 full bigness, Christ
 came down upon him
 from above from the
 Father, i. e. the Holy
 Spirit, in the shape of
 a Dove in Jordan, and
 made known to him,
 and by him to those
 that were with him,
 the unknown Father :
 and that therefore, af-
 ter the power was
 come upon him from
 above, he wrought Mi-
 racles : and that when
 Jesus suffered, that
 which came upon him
 from above left him,
 taking its flight up-
 wards ; but that Jesus
 suffered and rose a-
 gain : whereas Christ
 who came upon him
 from above, descend-
 ing in the form of a
 Dove, was not capable
 of suffering, and fled
 back again ; and that
 Jesus was not the same
 with Christ.

THUS

THUS far EPIPHANIUS's account agrees with IRENÆUS's; but he afterwards gives a somewhat different account of his opinion, which contradicts the former, and seems highly improbable.

His words are:

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κηρινθος...
 φασκει παλιν πολμησας
 Χριστον πεπεινθεναι και ε-
 σταυρωθαι, μηπω δε ε-
 γηγησθαι, μελλειν δε
 ανιστασθαι, οταν ἡ κα-
 τολὴ γενηται νεκρων
 αναστασις· ανασταται τωινυν
 παυλα παρ' εκεινοις πα-
 τε ρηματα και νοηματα·
ibid. p. 54.

This same Cerinthus has the confidence to say, that Christ suffered and was crucified; but that he is not yet risen, but that he shall rise at the general Resurrection of the dead. Therefore these thoughts and speeches among them are inconsistent.

BUT it seems clear that EPIPHANIUS does not take care to speak exactly in his account of this matter, he using the word CHRIST several times where he ought to use the word JESUS, (which was by no means proper to be done, when he was relating the opinions of one, who so carefully distinguishes between JESUS and CHRIST) of which carelessness of expression, take the following instances:

Εξηγηται και εἶπεν εκ
 Μαρίας και εκ σπερ-

And this Cerinthus gives us to understand, that

ματῶ Ιωσηφ τον Χει- that Christ was born
 στον γεγενησθαι. *ibid.* p. of Mary and of the
 53. seed of Joseph.

WHEN he proceeds to confute CERIN-
 THUS's opinions, he has these words :

Ουτι γὰρ εκ σπερματῶ. For neither was Christ
 Ιωσηφ δ Χεισος κ. τ. of the seed of Joseph,
 λ. *ibid.* p. 55. &c.

NOW it is certain from IRENÆUS, that
 CERINTHUS did not say that CHRIST was de-
 scended from JOSEPH ; and EPIPHANIUS him-
 self knew it, and therefore unless we suppose
 him to put the word CHRIST instead of JE-
 SUS, he fights without an Adversary in this
 passage.

WHEREFORE it seems reasonable to
 me, to lay most stress upon IRENÆUS's ac-
 count, which is more clear and consistent
 than EPIPHANIUS's, and which has so much
 the advantage of it in point of antiquity ;
 and consequently there is no reason to think,
 that CERINTHUS disputed the matter of fact,
 that JESUS, who was crucified at Jerusalem,
 rose again from the dead ; and that ground
 of wonder is removed, which is suggested in
 those words of this learned Author, in p. 18.
 " 'Tis a strange thing, one would think, they
 " should differ about a fact of this nature so
 " early ; and that CERINTHUS, who was con-
 VOL. II. c " tempo-

34 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

“ temporary, a countryman, and a Christian, “ should, with all those of his sect, deny the “ Resurrection of Christ from the dead.” It is remov’d (I say) so far as CERINTHUS is concerned in it; as depending chiefly, if not only, on EPIPHANIUS’s careless and confused way of expressing himself, or his mistaken representation of the matter. And this learned Author himself, in the same page, informs, that EPIPHANIUS confounds every thing. AUGUSTIN’s words in this matter would have been more to the purpose, than the passage our Author refers to in EPIPHANIUS, had they had any good foundation. They run thus :

Cerinthiani à Cerintho . . . Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec resurrexisse sed resurrecturum asseverantes. lib. de Hæres. n° 8.

The Cerinthians from Cerinthus . . . maintain, that Jesus was only a Man, and that he has not already risen, but shall rise again.

BUT AUGUSTIN probably borrow’d from EPIPHANIUS; and his account is very imperfect, and in one part of it manifestly false, if IRENÆUS’s be true.

FROM none of these accounts does it appear, that CERINTHUS believed that it was not JESUS himself, but one of his followers,
very

very like him, that was crucify'd; but the contrary.

AS to CARPOCRATES and his followers, IRENÆUS in his account of them, *Haeres. lib. 1. c. 24.* makes no mention of their denying that JESUS suffered, and saying that another suffered in his stead; but tells us, that they pretended to have an image of CHRIST made by PILATE, when JESUS was among men.

TERTULLIAN gives us this account of him:

Carpocrates . . . dicit Christum . . . hominem tantummodo . . . hunc apud Judæos passum: solam animam ipsius in cælo receptam, eo quod firmior & robustior cæteris fuerit: ex quo colligeret, tentata animarum salute nullas corporis resurrectiones. Tertul de Præscr. adv. Haeret. cap. 48.

Carpocrates . . . saith that Christ . . . was a meer man . . . that he suffered among the Jews: that his soul only was received into heaven, because it was more firm and strong than others: from whence he inferred, that the salvation of Souls alone being attempted, there was no resurrection of the body.

EPIPHANIUS saith nothing in his account of the CARPOCRATIANS (*Hæres. 27.*) about their denying that JESUS suffered, or asserting that another suffered in his stead; but men-

36 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

tions their having images or pictures of CHRIST made by PONTIUS PILATE. AUGUSTIN tells us, that they deny'd the Resurrection of the Body, and worshipped the images of JESUS and others. *Lib. de Hæres.*

BUT in none of these accounts, nor in that given by EUSEBIUS, (*Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 7.*) is there the least hint, that CARPOCRATES supposed that JESUS did not suffer, but another in his stead. And TERTULLIAN asserts the contrary.

NAZARENUS, *c. 6. p. 18.*

“ THE EBIONITES, according to EPIPHAN-
 “ NIUS, had not the Genealogy in their Go-
 “ spel, which makes it needless for him to
 “ say elsewhere, that the CERINTHIANS re-
 “ jected it, whose Gospel was the same.

EPIPHANIUS indeed tells us, that the EBIONITES and CERINTHIANS did both use the Gospel according to MATTHEW, and that only : but he does also tell us, that they did not use that which was whole and compleat, but one that was imperfect and adulterated; and it does not appear, that MATTHEW's Gospel, as used by them, was in all points the same; so that one of those sects might expunge or admit some passages which the other did not, tho as to the main body of the Gospel, it was the same. Therefore tho the Genealogy were want-

wanting in the MATTHEW of the EBIONITES, yet it might be let stand in that of the CERINTHIANS; and then EPIPHANIUS, without being guilty of confusion or inconsistency in this matter, might tell us, that CERINTHUS made use of this Genealogy to prove that JESUS was the son of JOSEPH and MARY. And that this was the case, according to EPIPHANIUS's representation of the matter, may be inferred from the following passages compared together.

OF the MATTHEW of the EBIONITES, he says :

Εν τῷ γεν. παρ' αὐτοῖς
Εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματ-
θαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, ὃ
ἔστιν ὅτι πληρὲς τῷ ἀλ-
λὰ νεοθευμένῳ καὶ ηκ-
ρωτηρασμένῳ· Ἑβραϊ-
κὸν δὲ τὸ καλεῖσθαι
ἐμφερταί, κ. τ. λ. *He-*
ref. 30. p. 64.

In their Gospel, ac-
cording to Matthew,
which is not compleat
and perfect, but adul-
terated and mutilated,
(they call it the He-
brew Gospel) it is
found, &c.

OF the CERINTHIANS, he says :

Χρῶνται τῷ κατὰ Ματ-
θαῖον Εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπο-
μυρρε καὶ ὃ ἔστιν ὅτι
διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν
ἐπιστημὴν, καὶ ταύτην μαρ-
τυρίαν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ

They use the Gospel
according to Matthew
in part, but not com-
pleat (or not all of it)
but because of the Ge-
nealogy according to

Ευαγγελιῶ, παλιν λε-
γοντες ὅτι ἄρκειτον κ. τ.
λ. *Heresf.* 28. p. 54.

the flesh, and they (or
they also) bring this
Testimony from the
Gospel, again saying,
that it is enough, &c.

BUT in this place the construction is difficult, and our learned Author seems from this very passage to infer, that the CERINTHIANS rejected the Genealogy; which does not seem clear to me from the words of the Author, which run as above, and should (if they can) be interpreted so as to consist with what he saith elsewhere of their making use of the Genealogy. See his words relating to that matter:

Ὁ μὲν Κηρενθῶς καὶ
Καρπύκρας πρὸς αὐτῶν
χρωμένοι δηθεν παρ'
αὐτοῖς Ευαγγελιῶ, ἀπο
τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ματ-
θαῖον Ευαγγελίου δια-
τῆς γενεαλογίας βυλόν-
τα παρῆσαν ἐκ σπέρμα-
τος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας
εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν· Οὗ-
τοι δὲ ἀλλὰ πῶς δια-
κονῶνται, παρανοήσαντες
καρτὰς παρὰ τῷ Ματ-
θαίῳ γενεαλογίας ἀρ-
χόνται τὴν ἀρχὴν ποι-
εῖν ὡς προείπον, λε-

Cerinthus and Carpo-
cras using the same
Gospel with them (i.e.
the Ebionites) would
prove from the Ge-
nealogy in the begin-
ning of the Gospel
according to Matthew,
that Christ was of the
seed of Joseph and
Mary. But these (i.e.
the Ebionites) are of
another mind. For
they cut off the Ge-
nealogies in Matthew,
and begin *the Gospel*,

γοντες, ὅπ' ἐγενετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδ' κ. τ. λ. *Hæres.* 30. p. 65. as I said before, at those words (Matth. 2. 1.) In the days of Herod, &c.

FROM whence it is plain, that EPIPHANIUS did not think that the Cerinthian and the Ebionite Gospels were word for word the same; tho they went under the same name, and might in most things agree. And this he might do consistently enough with what he had said before of the Ebionite Gospel, in those words :

Δεχονταί μὲν ὃ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου Ευαγγέλιον· Τετο γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς καὶ οἱ κατὰ Κηρίνθον καὶ Μερίνθον χροῦνται μόνον· *Ibid.* p. 60. They also own the Gospel according to Matthew, for they, as also the Cerinthians and Merinthians, use this only.

BUT it is probable he never saw this Gospel according to the HEBREWS (which he imagin'd to be the same with that according to MATTHEW) as may be inferred from the following words :

Ἐχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου Ευαγγέλιον πληρεσάτων Εβραϊστῶν· οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ ὃ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ· They (i. e. the Nazarenes, of whom he is there giving an account) have the Gospel according to Matthew

40 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

αχει Χειρ^ς περιελον.
*Idem. Hæres. 29. ad
 finem.*

in Hebrew . . . But I
 do not know whe-
 ther they have taken
 away the Genealo-
 gies from Abraham to
 Christ.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 26.*

“ EPIPHANIUS affirms, that the NAZARENS
 “ took this name to themselves, but not that
 “ of JESSEANS after JESUS, nor of CHRISTI-
 “ ANS after CHRIST, and that all Christians
 “ whatsoever were stiled NAZARENS.”

THIS account leads one to imagine, that
 EPIPHANIUS derived the name JESSEANS from
 JESUS, which he did not. His words run
 thus :

‘Ουτοι γαρ ἑαυτοῖς ονο-
 μα ἐπεδεντο, οὐχ Χει-
 ρ^ς, οὐτε αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα
 τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζω-
 ραίων· Καὶ πάντες δὲ
 Χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι το-
 τε ὡσαύτως ἐκαλούντο·
 Τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπ’ ὀλίγων
 χρόνων καλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς
 Ἰεσσαῖους, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς
 Ἀντιοχείαις ἀρχὴν λα-
 βῶσιν οἱ Μαθηταὶ καλεῖ-
 σθαι Χριστιανοὶ· Ἐκα-

For these (the Naza-
 rens) gave themselves
 the name neither of
 Jesus nor of Christ,
 but of Nazarens : and
 all Christians were
 then called Nazarens.
 But it came to pass,
 that in a little time
 they were called Jes-
 seans, before the Dis-
 ciples began to be cal-
 led Christians at An-
 tioch.

λεντο δε Ιεσσαίοι διχ
τον Ιεσσαοιμαι, επι-
δηπερ ο Δαβιδ εξ Ιεσ-
σαι κ. τ. λ. *Hæres.*
29. p. 55, 56.

tioch. They were cal-
led Jessæans, I suppose,
from Jesse ; for as
much as David de-
scended from Jesse,
&c.

THE persons whom he, thro mistake, sup-
posed to be called JESSÆANS, were the ES-
SÆANS mentioned by PHILO (*vid. ibid. apud*
Epiph. p. 57.) who seem to me not to have
been CHRISTIANS, nor does it appear, that
they were, from PHILO's account of them, in
his Book concerning the contemplative Life,
but a sort of JEWS, who lived a Monastic
Life in Egypt.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 26.*

“ THEY were likewise call'd by way of
“ contempt EBIONITES or Beggars.

I know none of the Fathers that says EBI-
ONITES was a name given to all Christians on
account of the meanness of their Condition.

OUR Author proceeds and says (*ibid.*) this
“ is very evident not only from the Silence
“ of IRENÆUS, but also from the express
“ Testimonies of ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS,
“ that they were thus nicknamed because of
“ their mean condition : and even from the
“ Hebrew word *Ebion* (עביון) itself, which sig-
“ nifies

42 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

“ nifies *poor*, and was a most proper Epi-
 “ thet for the first Christians.

I do not see the force of this way of arguing ; viz. IRENÆUS speaking of the Ebionites, whom he represents as a particular sort of Christians, who held doctrines different from other Christians, for which he ranked them among the Hereticks, does not mention any man of the name of EBION as their leader, nor indeed gives us any reason of their name ; therefore not only they, but all Christians whatsoever, were called Ebionites from the meanness of their condition.

BUT it will be proper to consider the express testimonies of ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS, to which we are referred, as delivered in their own words.

ORIGEN'S words in the first place referred to, run thus : (they being part of his answer to CELSUS, who esteem'd the Jews ridiculous for suffering themselves to be so imposed upon by JESUS, as to leave their country-laws, &c.)

Μηδὲ τὸτο κατανόησας,
 ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς
 τὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστευοντες καὶ
 καταλελοιπασι τὸν πα-
 τερὸν νόμον· εἰσι γὰρ
 κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπινομῶσι

Not considering that
 the Jews who believ-
 ed in Christ did not
 leave their country-
 law. For they live
 according to it, receiv-
 ing

της κατα την εκδοχην
 πτωχειας τε νομω γεγε-
 νημειοι. Εβιωνε γδ ο
 πτωχος παρα Ιουδαιοις
 καλεϊται. Και Εβιωναι-
 οι χρηματιζουσιν οι απο
 Ιουδαιων τον Ιησυν ως
 Χειστον παραδεξαμενοι.
 Και ο Πετρος δε μεχει
 πολλω φαινεται τα κα-
 τα τον Μωϋσεως νομον
 Ιουδαϊκα εδη πετηρηκε-
 ναι, ως μηδεπω απο
 Ιησυ μεθων αναβαινειν
 απο τε κατα το γεγραμ-
 μεν νομω επι τον κατα
 το πνευμα οπερ απο-
 των Πραξεων των Απο-
 στολων μαθαδικαμεν, κ.
 τ. λ. *Contra Celsum*,
 lib. 2. p. 56.

ing (or being call'd by)
 a name agreeable to
 the poverty of the
 Law, according to
 their way of under-
 standing it. For E-
 bion among the Jews
 signifies poor; and
 those of the Jews
 who received Jesus as
 Christ, are called E-
 bionites. And Peter
 for a good while ap-
 pears to have observ-
 ed the Jewish customs
 according to the law
 of Moses, as having
 not yet learned of
 Jesus to ascend from
 the letter to the spi-
 rit of the law, as we
 learn from the Acts
 of the Apostles (chap.
 10. 9.) &c.

IN the other passage referred to, he hav-
 ing mention'd those words of our Saviour (in
 Matt. 15. 24.) I am not sent but unto the
 lost sheep of the house of Israel, goes on
 saying,

Ουκ ελαμβανομεν ταυ-
 τα ως οι πτωχοι τη

We took not these
 words as those do,
 who

44 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

διανοία Εβιωνῶναι της
 πτωχείας της διανοίας
 επωνομῶν (Εβίω γαρ
 ὁ πτωχὸς παρ' Εβραι-
 οῖς ονομαζέται) ὥστε ὑπο-
 λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκίνους
 Ἰσραηλῆας θεωρηγμε-
 νὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπι-
 δεδημηκεναι κ. τ. λ.
Idem Philocal. cap. 1.
p. 17.

who being of a poor
 understanding, receive
 the name of Ebionites
 from the poverty of
 their understanding;
 (for a poor man is
 called Ebion in He-
 brew); so as to sup-
 pose that Christ came
 chiefly to the Israe-
 lites according to the
 flesh, &c.

IN both these passages there is nothing
 said of the Ebionites being poor or beggars
 as to their circumstances in the world, or
 their being nick-named from those circum-
 stances; but from their poor interpretation
 of the Law, which, as it was understood by
 them, answered the name which PAUL gave
 it of beggarly elements (πτωχα στοιχεῖα, Galat.
 4. 9.) so that as far as appears from his own
 account, the antient Fathers seem rather to
 have taken an occasion from these words of
 PAUL, to determine the name of Ebionites to
 have been properly given them, than from
 their outward poverty.

BUT let us see whether EUSEBIUS's words
 are more to our Author's purpose:

Εβιωνάδες τῶν οἰκείως
 ἐπεφημίζον οἱ πατέρες

The ancients did pro-
 perly call those Ebio-
 nites,

πῶχως καὶ ταπεινῶς τα nites, who had a
περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δογμα- poor and mean opi-
πίζοντας καὶ δοξάζοντας· nion of Christ; for
Λίτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν they esteemed him to
καὶ κοινὸν ἡγνυντο· κ. τ. be a meer and com-
λ. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. mon man, &c.
C. 27.

BUT he afterwards mentions one sort of Ebionites, who did not deny that our Lord sprung from the Virgin and the Holy Spirit; tho they did not own him to be God, the Word, and Wisdom; and did, as the first, adhere to the law of MOSES, and keep the Jewish as well as the Christian sabbath, rejecting PAUL's Epistles; and goes on thus:

Ὅθεν παρὰ τὴν πτω- Wherefore upon this
τὴν εὐχειρην τῆς πείας account they got the
δὲ λελογχασί ωρσηρ- name of Ebion, de-
ρίας τοῦ Εβίων ὀνομαζέ- noting the poorness
τὴν διανοίας πτωχεῖαν of their understand-
αὐτῶν ὑποφαινοῦντο· ing; for by this name
Ταυτὴ γὰρ ἐπικλην ὁ do the Hebrews call
πῶχος παρ' Ἑβραίοις a poor man (or this
ὀνομαζέται. *Ibid.* word signifies poor in
Hebrew.)

FROM which words it seems plain, that EUSEBIUS thought they received their name, not from their circumstances, but the nature of their opinions.

Now it appears hence, that whether this were the true reason of the name given the Ebionites or not, 'tis what ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS (as did also others of the antient Fathers who treat of this matter) give of it; and no proof of the contrary appears, unless you will take those Ebionites own account of it, which is recited in EPIPHANIUS, to which our author refers us, p. 27. But so far as I have learn'd of the character of those Ebionites in EPIPHANIUS, either from EPIPHANIUS himself or other ancient books, it does not appear clear enough to me, to induce me to lay much stress upon either their honesty or their judgment.

NAZARENUS, *c.* 9. *p.* 27, 28.

“ WHATEVER confusion and diversity
 “ may be observed concerning them in IRE-
 “ NÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR, EUSEBIUS, EPI-
 “ PHANIUS, AUGUSTIN, THEODORET and others
 “ of those they call the old Fathers, 'tis con-
 “ stantly agreed among them, that the Na-
 “ zarens and Ebionites affirmed JESUS to
 “ have been a meer man, as well by the Fa-
 “ ther's as the Mother's side, namely the son
 “ of JOSEPH and MARY, &c. &c.

I remember not where IRENÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR and EUSEBIUS give this account of the NAZARENS, as holding all the opinions
 here

here recited in common with the EBIONITES. Nor shall I believe it till some plain passages be produced out of them to prove it. IRENAEUS has not entred the NAZARENS into his list of Heretics ; neither he, nor JUSTIN MARTYR, make mention of them under that name. EUSEBIUS, as far as I remember, is silent concerning them ; his History furnishes no passage to support this account. TERTULLIAN indeed mentions the NAZARENS ; but does not charge them with these opinions. I make it a question whether any one of the Fathers before the fourth Century mention the NAZARENS as Heretics, and agreeing with the EBIONITES in their sentiments ; and if they do not, I see no reason for our Authors using the words EBIONITES and NAZARENS promiscuously, as if they signify'd precisely the same persons.

EPIPHANIUS has put the NAZARENS into his list of Heretics. He tells us they observed the law, but does not positively say that they held CHRIST to be a meer man descended from man, as well by the father's as by the mother's side.

His words are :

Περὶ Χριστοῦ δὲ οἱ
δα εἰπὺν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
τῶν περὶ τὴν
πρὸς Κηρινθον καὶ Μηνιν-

But as to Christ I
cannot say whether
they (i. e. the Naza-
rens) being led by the
wicked-

δὸν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἀχθέντες,
 ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπου νομίζου-
 σιν ἢ καὶ δὲς ἢ ἀληθεῖα
 εἶχει διὰ Πνευματῶ. Ἀ-
 γινωσκόμεθα γὰρ ἐκ Μα-
 ρίας διαβεβαιούμενοι. *Hæ-*
res. 29. p. 58.

wickedness of the Ce-
 rinthians and Merin-
 thians hold him to
 be a meer man, or
 assert that he, as the
 truth is, was (born
 of) sprung from Mary
 by the Holy Spirit.

A S to that passage relating to the reason
 of JESUS's being own'd for the Son of God,
 'tis not expressly assign'd by IRENÆUS, ORIGEN,
 EUSEBIUS or TERTULLIAN in their account
 of the EBIONITES as theirs; (THEODORET
 I have not by me, and so could not consult
 him,) and as far as I have yet been able to
 find, EPIPHANIUS is the chief, if not the only
 author, that has given us an account of the
 EBIONITES assigning that reason; but it does
 not at all appear even from him, that the
 NAZARENS join'd with them in it. And ac-
 cording to his account, that was not the on-
 ly reason of his being call'd the Son of God
 assign'd by them.

His words are :

Ἰησοῦν γεννημένον ἐκ
 σπέρματος ἀνδρός λε-
 γοντος καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενον, καὶ
 ὅτι κατ' ἐκλογὴν υἱὸν
 Θεοῦ κληθόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν
 αἰσθητῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡγομένων.

They say that Jesus
 was begotten of the
 seed of a man and
 chosen; and so cal-
 led the Son of God
 according to election
 from

Χριστὸν ἐν εἰδὲι περιτε-
ρας· ὃ φασκουσὶ δὲ ἐκ
Θεοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸν γε-
γεννηθῆναι ἀλλὰ ἐκτισ-
θῆναι, κ. τ. λ. *Haeresis*.
30. p. 66.

Τὸν Χριστὸν λεγούσι Προ-
φήτην τῆς ἀληθείας· Καὶ
Χριστὸν ὃν Θεὸς κατὰ
προφητείαν καὶ κατὰ συνα-
φειαν ἀναγωγῆς τῆς ἀνω-
θεν πρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενη-
μένη· Τὸς δὲ Προφήταις
λεγούσι συνέσεως εἶναι
Προφήτας καὶ ἐκ ἀληθεί-
ας· αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον εἶ-
ναι Προφήτην καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πον καὶ ὃν θεὸς καὶ Χρι-
στὸν καὶ ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον,
ὡς πορευόμεν, διὰ δὲ
τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰς ἡχοῦντα εἰς
τὸ καλεῖσθαι ὃν Θεὸν.
ibid. p. 67.

from Christ's coming
down upon him in the
form of a Dove. But
they do not say that
he was begotten but
created by God the
Father, &c.

They say that Christ
was a Prophet of
truth, and Christ the
son of God on ac-
count of his proficien-
cy and intimate ac-
quaintance with the
sublime knowledge
that came to him from
above. But they say
the Prophets are Pro-
phets of understand-
ing but not truth; and
that he alone is a Pro-
phet, and man, and
son of God, and Christ,
and a meer man as
we said before, but
that by a virtuous life
he came to be called
the son of God.

SO that if I understand him right, EPIPHA-
NIUS suggests three particulars upon account
of which according to the Ebionites he was

50 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

called the Son of God, viz. his being chosen and marked out by God by the descent of CHRIST in form of a Dove; his being favoured with a deep knowledge of divine mysteries, and his virtuous life; unless you rather suppose the two first to fall into one.

IN the Gospel according to the Hebrews which was used by the Ebionites, the Holy Spirit is called by our Saviour, his Mother, as appears from divers passages in ORIGEN and JEROM, as particularly that where ORIGEN has these words:

Εαν δὲ προσεῖται τις το
καθ' Ἑβραίων Ευαγγε-
λιον, ενθα αὐτῷ ὁ Σω-
τηρ φησι· Ἀρτι ελαβε
με ἡ μητηρ μου, το ἁγί-
ον πνεῦμα εν μαρτων
τελων μου, καὶ ἀπενεγχε
με εἰς τὸ ὄρος το μεγα-
θαβωρ κ. τ. λ. *Com.*
in Joann. Tom. 2. p.
58. D.

But if any one admit the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself saith, my Mother the Holy Spirit took me a little while ago by one of the hairs of my head, and carried me to the great mountain Tabor, &c.

BUT on what account the Holy Spirit was called his Mother, does not appear. By that descent he was endued with wisdom and knowledge, if JEROM's conjecture be right, in his Commentary on Esai. 11. 2. On occasion of those words, "the spirit of wisdom and
"the spirit of understanding", he there cites a
fragment

fragment of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarens, which I shall add here because the Spirit calls him there his first begotten:

*In Evangelio, cujus
super facinus men-
tionem, hoc scripta
reperiuntur: Primum est
autem cum ascendisset
Dominus de aqua, de-
scendit fons omnis spi-
ritus sancti, & re-
quievit super eum &
dixit illi: Fili mi, in
omnibus Prophetis ex-
pectabam te ut veni-
res & requiescerem
in te. Tu es enim
requies mea, tu es
filius meus primogeni-
tus, qui regnas in
sempiternum.*

In the Gospel above-mentioned (i. e. the Hebrew one) we find these things written: But it came to pass that when the Lord came up from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down, and rested upon him, and said to him, In all the Prophets I look'd for thee that thou mightest come, and I might rest upon thee. Thou art my rest, thou art my first born Son, who reignest for ever.

WHERE AUGUSTIN makes the Ebionites and Nazarens agree in all the particulars mentioned by our Author, I know not. In his Book of Heresies he mentions them as two sorts of Heretics, and tells us the Nazarens own CHRIST to be the Son of God, but does not say on what account; and that

52 CRITICAL REMARKS ON
the Ebionites say CHRIST was only a
man.

AS to the passage referred to in EUSEBIUS by our Author, to prove that he made the Nazarens and Ebionites agree in all the particulars here recited, I find mention only of the Ebionites there; and he does not tell us that they affirmed that JESUS merited to be peculiarly call'd the Son of God, by reason of his most virtuous life, but only that he was justify'd on the account of it.

His words are :

Λίτον αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν
ἦγεντο, κατὰ κοινὴν
τὴν ἔχον αὐτὸν μόνον
ἀνθρώπου δεδικαιωμέ-
νον. *Hist. Eccles. lib.*
3. c. 27.

They were of opinion
that he was a meer
and common man,
but that being only a
man he was justify'd
upon account of the
excellency of his mo-
rals.

OUR Author himself observes, that in EUSEBIUS's time the Ebionites were divided in their opinion about the parents of CHRIST.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 28.*

“ EUSEBIUS saith that some few of them
(the Author had been speaking of the E-
bionites and Nazarens, whom he calls
Jewish

Jewish Christians) “ in his time, that is, the
 “ fourth Century, believed like the Gentile
 “ Christians, the mother of CHRIST to have
 “ been a Virgin ; and that he was conceived
 “ by virtue of the Spirit of God, tho’ still but
 “ a meer man, &c.

THE placing those words, *believed like the Gentile Christians*, after this manner in this sentence, might induce one to believe that they were made use of by EUSEBIUS himself, which they are not ; for

His words are :

Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτοις
 τῆς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπεσπύ-
 ρου τὴν μὲν τῶν ἐ-
 ρημενῶν ἐκτοπὸν διεδι-
 δρασκὸν ἀτοπῶν, ἐκ
 παρθενῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας
 Πνεύματος ὅτι μὴ ἀρνημέ-
 νοι γεγονέναι τὸν Κυ-
 ριον· ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοί-
 ως καὶ ἐστὶ περὶ παρῶν
 αὐτὸν Θεὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔ-
 σθαι καὶ Σοφίαν ὁμολογούν-
 τες τῶν περὶ τὴν πε-
 ρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διανοή-
 σαι. *Hist.*
Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 27.

There were others be-
 sides these who went
 under the same name,
 who quitted the ab-
 surdity of those be-
 fore-mentioned, not
 denying the Lord to
 be sprung from the
 Virgin and the Holy
 Spirit. But these like
 the others not own-
 ing that he had any
 existence before, as be-
 ing God, the Word,
 and Wisdom, were in-
 volved in the impiety
 of the first.

WHERE it is proper to observe, that he speaks not here of the Nazarens but the Ebionites; that he does not say whether there were some few or many of this party of the Ebionites, nor makes any mention of the Gentile Christians; nor so much as hint to us any thing that should persuade us that it was an opinion peculiar to Gentile Christians before his time, to think that the mother of our Lord was a Virgin.

ADD to this, that these two different sorts of Ebionites were observed before EUSEBIUS's time by ORIGEN;

whose words are :

Οὗτοι δ' εἰσιν οἱ διττοὶ
Εβιωναροὶ οἱ, ἢ τοι ἐκ
παρδενὸς ὁμολογούντες ὁ-
μολῶς ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν,
ἢ ἔχ' ἔπω γυγενῆσθαι
ἀλλ' ὥς τες λοιπὸς
ἀνθρώπους. *lib. 5. con-
tra Cels. p. 272.*

These are the two
sorts of Ebionites, be-
ing either such as
with us acknowledge
Jesus to be born of
a Virgin, or such as
pretend, that he was
not born so, but as
other men.

THESE things considered, it must be
own'd, that the account of our Author would
have been more satisfactory, if he had distinct-
ly told us which of the Fathers asserted one
part and which the other, of those things he
has

has put together in page 27, at the end of the page, and at the beginning of 28: it not appearing from the passages he refers to, that all those he mentions agreed in all the particulars.

NAZARENUS, c. 12. p. 40, 41.

“ NO other scheme can reconcile Christianity and the promises of everlasting duration made in favour of the Jewish Law: which are poorly, I will not say sophistically, evaded by making the words *eternal, everlasting, for ever, perpetual, and throughout all generations*, to mean only a great while; that the way of CHRIST's *accomplishing the law*, was to abolish it; and that *till heaven and earth shall pass*, signify'd till the reign of TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

WITH respect to this passage one can hardly forbear observing that our Author's scheme may be reason'd against, by arguments drawn from these phrases, as well as that of those whom he opposes. For according to the Ebionite scheme JESUS came into the world to abolish sacrifices, and consequently that part of the Levitical Law relating to them is not now to be observed, as appears from a passage cited by EPIPHANIUS, out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was in use among the Ebionites.

His words are :

Ἐλθοντα καὶ ὑφηγησάμε-
νον ὡς το παρ' αὐτοῖς
Εὐαγγέλιον καλεσμένον
περιεχρί, ὅτι ἦλθον κα-
ταλύσαι τὰς θυσίας· καὶ
εἰ μὴ παύσησθε τὸ θυ-
εῖν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑ-
μῶν ἡ ὀργή. *Hæres.*
30. p. 66.

But they say that he
came and declared, as
it is said, in what is
called the Gospel by
them, that I came to
abolish sacrifices, and
if you cease not from
sacrificing, wrath shall
not cease from you.

S O that one part of the business of JESUS
upon earth was to declare those who con-
tinued to sacrifice to be under wrath. What
then is become of the statutes made in fa-
vour of the eternal duration of the Jewish
laws about Sacrifices? With respect to the or-
ders given about the Paschal Lamb, the law
says, “ ye shall observe this thing for an or-
“ dinance to thee and to thy sons for ever”,
Exod. 12. 24. And again some parts of the
sacrifices of the peace-offerings are given to
AARON the Priest and to his sons by a statute
for ever, *Levit.* 7. 34. So with respect to
what the High-priest should do on the day of
atonement, 'tis said “ this shall be an everlasting
“ statute unto you”, *Levit.* 16. 34. and divers
other such passages there are. For those phrases
cited by our Author as favouring the perpetual
duration of MOSES's law, are as commonly
made use of in reference to sacrifices as to
any

any ordinances whatsoever in the law ; when yet our Author owns the law to be changed with respect to these. Vid. *Nazaren.* p. 63, 64.

NAZARENUS, *cap.* 16. *p.* 62.

“ *Works* there (i. e. in JAMES's Epistle)
 “ signify the Levitical Law, as *Faith* is put for
 “ Christianity ;” and afterwards “ *Works* are
 “ interpreted to signify the Levitical rites.

OUR Author's sense of the word *Works* is not countenanced by the examples here made use of to prove JAMES's doctrine. “ Was not (saith JAMES) ABRAHAM justify'd by *Works*? *cap.* 2. “ 21. and was not RAHAB justify'd by *Works*?” ver. 25 : when yet ABRAHAM was dead some hundreds of years before the Establishment of the Levitical Law, and RAHAB was a Canaanite's, and not obliged to the observation of it. And the *Works* by which they were said to be justify'd, were neither of them such as were bound upon them by that Law. So that according to this interpretation, JAMES insists upon it, that the Jews were to be justify'd by the *Works* of the Levitical Law, because their Father ABRAHAM and another person were justify'd without them.

WHEN I consider the titles given by JAMES to the Law, the observance of which is recommended as so necessary, which is called “ the ingrafted word which is able to save
 “ souls

58 CRITICAL REMARKS ON

“souls in cap. 1. 21; and the perfect law of
 “liberty ver. 25; and the instances of obedience
 mention’d in cap. 2. as also the examples of
 obedience before mentioned, I cannot per-
 suade my self that by *Works* he only means
 the Levitical rites, if he do at all directly mean
 them. It seems more agreeable to the tenor
 of his discoursè to suppose that he means by
Faith a firm and well grounded persuasion
 of the certainty of any truth made known
 to us by God, and particularly of the princi-
 ples of the Christian Religion; and by *Works*
 such kind of actions as those principles are
 design’d and fitted to put us upon. And his
 design is plainly to teach us that if we en-
 tertain in our minds the best principles in
 the world; as particularly those which the
 doctrine of Christ teaches us, yet if we do
 not act up to them we must expect to be
 condemned. And that of Christians he and
 he only who acts according to these his prin-
 ciples shall be accepted, acquitted, and pro-
 nounced righteous by God when his case comes
 to be try’d.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 16. p. 63.*

“THAT *the Law was our schoolmaster*
 “*to bring us unto Christ* is a phrase to
 “be understood only of us Gentiles.

THIS I can by no means grant, when I
 consider the words immediately preceding
 and

and following those here cited. The words preceding (Gal. 3. 23.) are, *Before Faith (or the Faith) came, we were kept under the Law shut up unto the Faith, which should afterwards be revealed.* So that the law was the Schoolmaster only of those that were under it, which very persons were freed from this Schoolmaster by the coming of the Faith; as the words following inform us, ver. 25. *But after that (the) Faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.* Unless therefore we will suppose the Gentiles to have been under the Levitical Law before the Gospel was published, the words ver. 24. cannot reasonably be apply'd to them, especially not so as to exclude the Jews, who are own'd by all to have been under the law before that time.





ANNOTATIUNCULÆ

S U B I T A N E Æ

A D

L I B R U M

D E

Christianismo Mysteriis carente :

Conscriptæ 8 Augusti 1701 *.



LIBER Anglicana lingua scriptus, sæpe auditus mihi, nondum visus, *de Christianismo mysteriis carente*, cum nuper in manus meas venisset; non potui temperare mihi quin perlegerem statim, & more meo aliquas Notatiunculas in chartam conjicerem inter legendum, quod non rarò facio cum Libri occurrunt singulares. Hunc certè ingeniosè scriptum esse fateri oportet. Et, cùm caritas non sit suspicax, ego mihi libenter persuadeo, scopum

* The celebrated Mr. LEIBNIZ is the Author of these Remarks.

scopum Autoris, viri doctrina & ingenio non vulgari præditi, & ut arbitror bene animati, fuisse ut homines à Theologia theoretica ad practicam, à disputationibus circa personam Christi ad studium imitandæ ejus vitæ revocaret; etsi via, qua ad hunc scopum ivit, non satis recta aut plana ubiq; videatur. Equidem Theologiam vere Christianam, esse practicam constat, & primarium Christi scopum fuisse potius inspirare voluntati sanctitatem, quam intellectui immittere notiones veritatum arcanarum.

NON tamen ideò negari debet, per Christum nobis revelatas fuisse divinas doctrinas quas ratio perspicere non potest, & cavenda mihi videntur non tantum quæ sectarias opiniones Theologorum foyent, sed etiam multo magis quæ Clerum Reformatum plebi odiosum reddere aut in contemptum adducere possunt; quòd genus sectæ omnium periculosissimum foret, nam turbas dare posset, quibus alimenta subministrare alienissimum esse arbitror à mente autoris, qui ut virum probum decet suas cogitationes ad bonum reipublicæ dirigere velle profitetur. Certè errores & abusus qui irrepsêre in Ecclesiam, non tam cleri artibus, quàm temporum vitio tribui debent; ipsamq; autoritatem Pontificum nimiam, paulatim enatam constat circumstantiis faventibus, & casu interveniente ut solet. Præterea illis temporibus quibus solus sapiebat clerus, cæteri verò omnes ingenui homines militares erant;

erant; non absurdum erat, militare imperium sapientum, id est cleri, autoritate temperari.

TITULUS ipse Libri mihi videtur longius ire quam par est, nam ita habet: *Christianismus mysterio carens, hoc est Tractatus ostendens nihil inesse Evangelio contrarium rationi, nihil supra rationem; atq; adeo nullam Christianam doctrinam mysterii nomine proprie loquendo appellari posse.* Equidem omnes fatentur nihil inesse debere Theologiæ Christianæ quod sit contrarium rationi, id est absurdum; sed eidem nihil inesse quod sit supra rationem, id est, quod ratione nostra comprehendi nequeat, non video qua probabilitate dici possit; cum ipsa divina natura, quæ infinita est, necessario sit incomprehensibilis: quemadmodum & in omnibus substantiis aliquid inest infiniti, unde fit ut a nobis perfecte intelligi possint solæ notiones incompletæ, quales sunt numerorum, figurarum, aliorumq; hujusmodi modorum à rebus animo abstractorum. Fateor esse nobis, ut optimè observat autor, distinctam quandam infiniti (per se scilicet seu absoluti) notionem; sed non est nobis finito intellectu præditis, infinitarum varietatum distincta consideratio, qua tamen in rebus præsertim divinis comprehendendis persæpe opus foret. Itaq; miror initio statim Libri, in præliminari formatione status controversiæ, improbari eos qui dicunt: “adorandum esse quod nequit comprehendi;” quo tamen pronuntiato nihil mihi videtur esse certius: nisi
scilicet

scilicet Comprehensionem, ut alicubi Cl. Autor facit, (*Seçt. 3. cap. 2.*) ita interpretemur, ut nihil aliud significet quàm cognitionem; qui tamen sensus non est usitatus, nec proinde in populari usu facile adhibendus.

AD SECTIONEM I.

VENIO ad Libri contenta primaria, & Sectionem quidem primam *de Ratione*; ubi *Capite 1.* autor ingeniosus ait *esse in nobis Facultates formandi ideas ac perceptiones rerum, affirmandi; aut negandi prout eas inter se convenire aut dissidere perspicimus; atq; inde amandi ac desiderandi bona, aut contra odio habendi fugiendi; mala.* Et legitimum harum facultatum usum esse *Sensum communem* aut *Rationem in universum*. Hanc ego Definitionem libenter concedam, quia bonum sensum admittit. Tametsi aliquid in ea desiderari possit, dum non explicat in quo rectus ille usus consistat. Quod tamen hoc loco facilius excusari potest, quia scopus auctoris non est hæc tractare ex professo. *Ideam* definit *immediatum cogitationis objectum*, quod ab aliorum quoq; sensu non abhorret.

Capite 2. tractat in quo Ratio consistat; aitq; *Cognitionem esse perceptionem consensus aut dissensus idearum*: in quo nonnihil hæreo. Videtur enim mihi id verum quidem esse in nostra cognitione rationali, nempe ex ideis sive definitionibus deducta, quam dicimus

cimus esse à priori, sed non in cognitione à posteriori sumta, sive experimentalì; ubi sæpe nullas distinctas ideas habemus, neq; adeò consensum aut dissensum earum percipimus: ita (ut exemplo utar) experimento quidem cognoscimus acida sirupum violarum rubro colore tingere, sed nullam perspicimus consensionem idearum, quas acidi & rubri & violacei distinctas nondum habemus. Solius DEI est omnia deducere ex mentis suæ ideis. Quæ adduntur de duplici *cognitione* (rationali scilicet) *immediata* & *mediata*, laudo; etsi altius penetrandum putem, ut res sufficienter explicetur, quod fateor hujus loci non esse.

Caput. 3. sine Annotatione transmittere posse mihi videor.

IN *Capite 4.* admittere possum *fundamentum persuasionis esse evidentiam*, modo abusus hujus doctrinæ absit. Etsi enim id de quo persuasi sumus non semper sit evidens; debet tamen evidentia intervenire in modo persuadendi. Verbi gratia, evidens esse nobis debet autoritas eorum quibus credimus aliquid contigisse, quod tamen quomodo factum sit non semper perspicimus. Ita qui ignorant quomodo Hydropota intra breve temporis spatium ex ore magnam copiam lactis, atramenti, cerevisiæ, vini rhenani, vini ex tellina valle, spiritus vini, aliorumq; liquorum in conspectu virorum perspicacium, & de propinquo intentorum emittere potuerit; rem tamen fac-
tam

tam esse, non tam mihi (qui bis Hanoveræ vidi) quam tot aliis mecum testibus oculatis credere possunt, eorumque errorem à scriptoribus nonnullis temere defensum deponere, quibus persuasum est non veros esse illos liquores sed simulatos tantum & in speciem nescio quibus essentiis tinctos. Et hæc *Evidentia* in rebus fidei divinæ inest iis argumentis, quæ vulgò multi Theologi (minùs eleganter quidem) vocant *motiva credibilitatis*. Sed explicandum erat *Evidentiæ criterion*: multos enim vidi ad Evidentiam provocare ubi nulla erat. Itaque in Schediasmate quodam Actis Lipsiensibus inserto *De cognitione, veritate, & ideis*, pro parte supplere conatus sum hunc defectum scriptoribus communem.

AD SECTIONEM II.

CLARISSIMUS Autor agnoscit neminem Theologorum quos norit, aliquid credendum docere, quod fateatur rationi contrarium; à plerisque tamen doceri, omnino fieri posse ut fidei dogma rationi contrarium saltem videatur: quod ipse impugnat Capite I. ubi obiter annoto Evangelicis, quos (invitis ipsorum præstantissimis non paucis) *Lutheranos* appellat, non recte imputari *impanationem*, nec ab omnibus ipsorum Theologis admitti *ubiquitatem*, vel potius omni-præsentiam carnis Christi. Rectè verò culpari *Socinianos* quod creatum quendam Deum introducunt divini honoris capacem.

QUOD attinet *communes notiones* quibus congruunt aut non congruunt divinae veritates, jamdudum distinxere prudentes Theologi inter eas quæ sunt metaphysicæ necessitatis, ubi contrarium implicat contradictionem, à quibus dissidere nulla divina veritas potest; & inter veritates physicas, quæ haustæ sunt ab experientia atque ut sic dicam ex consuetudine mundi, cui derogare Deum nihil prohibet, cum etiam in naturalibus tale quid contingere sæpe videamus, ut ipse Cl. Autor infra agnoscit. Talis veritas est, massam ferream sua natura in aqua descendere; quod tamen cum non fiat, quoties ea arte in cavum lebetem formatur, quis dubitat multo magis Deo modos præsto esse idem efficiendi, dum naturæ arcana quadam ratione assistit?

SED hoc misso, inspiciamus an hîc res eodem redeat, ut ait Dn. Autor, *sive contradictio sit vera sive apparens*. Id vero ego mihi persuadere non possum. Equidem fateor, nobis regulariter sequenda esse quæ apparent; & verorum locum tenere; sed quoties plura apparent inter se contraria regulam necessario cessare; & expendendum esse quænam verisimilitudo magis sit sequenda. Ubi non tantum spectandum est quæ sententia sit probabilior, sed & quæ sit tutior. Veluti si major mihi probabilitas lucrandi quam perdendi proponatur;
sed

sed lucrum sit futurum exiguum, damnum verò ingens; sitque multo major ratio damni ad lucrum quam spei ad metum, rectius proposita conditione abstinēbo. Ita si verba Domini faveant uni sententiæ, & rerum species alteri, & verbo Domini potius stando rebus Domini nullum periculum creetur, à verbis autem recedendo periculum accersatur mihi, profectò rectius verbis inhærebo neque recedam ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πρᾶξεν τῆς διαβολῆς. Idque tanto magis verum est, quanto Dominus prudentior est & major; cum etiam in re militari miles non impune sit laturus, qui verba mandati ab imperatore suo profecti sine gravissima causa deserit. Cæterum *apparentem contradictionem* hic intelligo eam quæ re non satis discussa offertur; veluti si quis inspectis obiter tabulis rationum ab agente in rebus redditarum, videatur sibi errorem videre aut in calculo, aut in materia calculi: ille huic iudicio suo fidere non debet, nisi examine ut par est iterato & discussione absoluta confirmetur; cum nihil in rebus impeditis sit magis lubricum quam iudicium promptum.

QUOD verò hoc loco dicitur *neminem credere posse nisi quod animo concipit*, verum est, si non nimium extendatur. Verba sensum aliquem habere oportet, sed non temper necessarios esse conceptus distinctos, nedum adæquatos, experimenta ostendunt (qualium & supra memini) quibus fidem adhibemus tametsi de multis sensuum objectis immediate

diatis, (veluti coloribus, odoribusque) distinctos conceptus non habeamus. Etiam in metaphysicis Cl. Autor noster cum plerisque aliis loquitur de *substantia* tanquam sustentaculo, de *causa*, aliisque multis; etsi distinctæ satis notiones vulgo fortasse desint. Immo ostendi alibi, esse quædam in ipsis primis Geometriæ notionibus non satis hæctenus à Geometris explicata. Et quanto quisque in meditationibus versatior est, tanto magis hos defectus agnoscit, animumque ad eam præsertim in sacris modestiam componit, quæ neque exigat nimium neque polliceatur.

Cap. 2. dicitur Revelationem esse tantum modum informationis, non argumentum assensum extorquens; cuius pronuntiati si is est sensus, Revelationem non plus habere autoritatis quam magistrum cui credimus tantum quia probat, aut quia rem per distinctos conceptus explicat, stare nequit. Nam Revelator non tantum habet personam magistri aut docentis, sed & testis imò judicis irrefragabilis; postquam scilicet constat, quod revelans sit ipse Deus. Itaque etiam in humanis non semper opus est evidentia in rebus (quam Cl. Autor requirit) modo sit in personis, ut de earum fide constet. Secus est in doctrinis quæ ratione constant, ut si magister me doceat Geometriam; ibi enim locum habet, quod Cl. Autor paulo generaliùs pronuntiare videtur, fundamentum persuasionis meæ esse non auctoritatem dicentis, sed claritatem conceptionis.

tionis. Illud utique verissimum est, nihil esse in divina revelatione quod non sit dignum Deo, qui summa ratio est: sed scimus tamen etiam in oeconomia naturæ multa nobis visa esse absurda, ob nostram ignorantiam, quia in vero centro collocati non sumus, unde rerum pulchritudo spectari debet. Ita Alphonsus Rex, Astronomiæ studio insignis, ridicule credebatur melioris Systematis ideam se daturum fuisse, si à creatore in consilium adhibitus fuisset. Cum tamen nunc, ex quo nos animo in solem (quem deprehensum est centrum esse huius systematis) transferre didicimus; manifestum sit pulcherrimam esse rerum constitutionem.

Cap. 3. concedit Cl. Autor, ut par est, *miracula à Christo fuisse edita*: sed hoc ipso, si quid iudico, etiam concedit esse aliquid credendum in Christiana Religione quod sit supra rationem nostram: quid aliud enim miracula sunt quàm operationes quæ ex naturæ creatæ legibus quas intellectus creatus quantæcunque capacitatis percipere posset, derivari non possunt. De cætero bene disputat contra eos, qui Evangelistas & Apostolos male & obscure scripsisse putant de rebus quas scire oportet.

Cap. 4. respondet objicientibus *corruptam esse rationem nostram.* Hic mihi videtur rursus non male disputare dum distinguit inter ipsam *Rationem* & *pravum* facultatis bonæ *usum*

usum, uti distinguimus inter artem & artificem. Interim non ausim dicere quod habetur §. 31. *omnes nostras cogitationes plane liberas esse*; arbitror enim in quantum nostra natura infirma vel corrupta est, in tantum nos servituti obnoxios esse. Et cùm mox disputat pro omnimoda *arbitrii libertate*, vereor ne longius procedat quam res patiatur aut sit necesse. Sed ea quæstio hujus loci non est.

AD SECTIONEM III.

Cap. 1. Autor ostendit *Mysteria* apud Ethnicos significasse *ritus arcanos in quibus profani aut non initiati admitti non debebant*; adeoq; *mysterium* olim fuisse *rem non intellectam quidem, sed valde tamen intelligibilem si revelaretur*. Hoc non illibenter admisero. Gentilium enim Religio non tam in dogmatibus quam ceremoniis consistebat, quæ quisq; pro lubitu interpretabatur: unde fiebat etiam ut inter ipsos de religionibus non certaretur.

Cap. 2. observat *non statim Mysteria esse, quorum adequatas ideas aut omnium simul proprietatum notitiam non habemus*. In quo ipsi libens itidem assentior, alioqui enim etiam circuli & reliquæ figuræ forent mysteria. Sed illud jam quæritur utrum aliqua sint Mysteria in natura? ubi aio si *Mysterii* voce intelligatur quicquid præsentem rationem nostram superat, innumera etiam physica mysteria deprehendi. Ita si quærat an aquæ interior cognitio
sit

fit supra nostram rationem, respondeo esse supra præsentem : nondum enim à quoquam ejus texturam satis expositam puto ; sed tamen non despero posse aliquando explicationem dari quæ phænomenis satisfaciât. Sunt etiam multa supra rationem humanam posita non nostram tantum, sed & posterorum, seu qualis scilicet non nunc tantum existit, sed & unquam erit in hac vita quam in terris degimus ; etsi fieri omnino possit, ut ab aliqua creatura nobiliore intelligantur, & nobis etiam in nobiliorem statum translatis aliquando sint futura intelligibilia.

S E D si quis *Mysterium* appellet quicquid est supra omnem rationem creatam ; ausim dicere, nulla quidem phænomena naturalia supra rationem esse, sed ipsas tamen substantiarum singularium comprehensiones creato intellectui esse impossibiles quia infinitum involvunt. Unde fit ut rerum universi perfecta ratio reddi non possit. Et talia nihil prohibet esse etiam dogmata quædam divinitus revelata, ut nulla rationis vi satis explicari queant etsi animo utcunq; attingantur atq; etiam à contradictionis accusatione rite vindicari possint. Porro *comprehensionem* appello non tantum cùm distinctæ interveniunt ideæ, sed & cùm adæquatæ ; id est cùm non tantum propositi termini habetur definitio sive resolutio, sed & quivis terminus eam ingrediens rursus resolutus habetur usque ad primitivos ; ut in numeris experimur.

Cap. 3. ostendere aggreditur etiam in Scriptura sacra & libris primæ antiquitatis *Mysterium* vulgari Theologorum sensu incognitum esse. Adducit tamen ipse locum Pauli 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10. ubi dicitur *nec oculum vidisse, neq; aurem audisse, nec in hominis cor intrasse, quæ Deus amicis suis paravit.* Ubi videtur aliquid intelligi quod nobis ignotum est, non ideo tantum quia nobis non est dictum, sed etiam quia licet nobis diceretur, percipi non posset nisi exaltarentur sensus nostri & veniremus in rem præsentem per altiore quandam experientiam: prorsus ut cæcus de coloribus judicare non potest, etsi ipsi colorum doctrina exponatur, nisi oculi ejus aperiantur.

CÆTERUM illud bene notat Autor noster, multa ignota fuisse Philosophis & nuda ratione obtineri non potuisse, non quod essent incomprehensibilia, sed quod penderent à re facti nonnisi per divinam Revelationem cognoscenda. In exemplum affert doctrinam de *lapsu Adami*, quæ difficultates tollat de causa peccati, quibus Philosophi exercebantur.

CÆTERUM quod ait §. 30. *nihil magni præstari si reveletur veritas incomprehensibilis*, non puto ac semper jure dici. Sic in naturalibus quoq; detectio acus magneticæ res magna est eritq; etsi operationes ejus perpetuò nobis inexplicatæ manerent. Eodem modo in Theologia veritas cujus ratio reddi nequit
magni

magni tamen ad salutis oeconomiam momenti esse potest.

IN 1 Tim. iii. 16. videtur *Mysterium* etiam aliquid amplius significare quam *rem ignotam quidem antea, sed revelatione facta facilem intellectu*. Nam cum dicitur *Deum manifestatum in carne, visum Angelis, receptum in gloria*, apparet intelligi quæ naturam creatam, vircq; rationis transcendunt.

OBITER annoto quod ait Dn. Autor §. 39. *veteres in pueritia mundi vixisse, & nos a-
dultore ætas ætate vivere, adeoq; præsentia
potius terra esse dicenda*; verissimum equidem esse, & autoritati antiquorum detrahere in iis quæ sunt scientiæ & experientiæ, sed non in iis quæ sunt historiæ ac traditionis. Manifestum enim est remotiores à fonte narrationes vel voce vel scripto propagatas fieri indies imperfectiores.

Cap. 4. Respondet objectionibus à locis scripturæ, item à natura fidei petitis, quibus nunc ut inhæream necesse non puto. Tantum annoto quod dicitur §. 54. *Fidem esse ex auditu, sed si quæ audiamus non intelligantur inanem imo nullam fidem fore*; esse quidem verissimum: sed multum tamen differre intellectum verborum & comprehensionem rei, ut etiam in naturalibus patet. Sæpe enim vel ideæ quas habemus, vel methodus ex ideis ratiocinandi quam habemus, non sufficiunt ad
con-

connexionem subjecti & prædicati intelligendam etſi aliquam ſubjecti & prædicati notitiam præſtent. Etiam in Geometria non eſt cujuſvis, theoremata demonſtrare figurarum diſtinctè licet cognitarum, quamvis ea theoremata jam ab aliis ſint inventa ac communicata.

Cap. 5. Cl. Autor ſibi ipſi prudenter objicit, quod ſupra objeceram, *Miracula eſſe ſupra rationem*. Definitio *Miraculi* quam exhibet ſic ſatis ni fallor convenit communi doctrinæ Theologorum, ut ſcilicet ſint *ſuper leges naturæ ordinariasq; operationes*. Rectè tamen agnoſcit eſſe *poſſibilia & intelligibilia*. Sed eo modo etiam Myſteria Theologis poſſibilia & intelligibilia ſunt. Quis enim dubitat quin abſit contradicſtio & verba intelligantur, etſi modus explicandi utrobq; rationis noſtræ vim tranſcendat. Itaque Vir Cl. objectioni mihi ſatis feciſſe non omnino videtur. Nihil refert, quod *myſteria ſunt doctrinæ, & miracula ſunt hiſtorię*; nam miracula ſunt ut ſic dicam myſteria tranſitoria, & myſteria aliqua habent quodam modo miraculi durabilis naturam.

QUÆ Cap. 6. dicuntur de *introducſtione Myſteriorum, & origine Ceremoniarum*, brevitatis cauſa non perſequor, de re ipſa ſatis feciſſe contentus; nam quæ ad Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam pertinent latiùs diffunduntur, quam ut brevibus tractari poſſint, neq; neceſſaria ſunt ad ſcopum noſtrum.

IN *Conclusione* sperare jubet Cl Autor *explicationem intelligibilem doctrinæ Novi Testamenti*. Talem ego quoque putem dari posse, imo, (etsi fortasse disperſam) jam haberi; si inferiore quodam intelligibilitatis gradu ſimus contenti. Sed cum id opus non prodierit, non est cur rei immorer hoc loco. Itaq; & ipse finio, tantumq; addo: Philosophos nostri temporis insignes multa in natura agnoscere supra nostræ rationis vires.

QUIDAM Cartesiani eximii unionem animæ & corporis pro miraculota habent; alii compositionem continui, aut conciliationem liberi arbitrii cum divina præordinatione negant comprehendi posse.

LOCKIUS, magni nominis Philosophus Anglus, cujus sententias Autor noster passim probat, cum olim docuisset omnia corporum phænomena posse explicari ex soliditate & extensione & harum modis; nunc in Responsione quadam ad celeberrimum Stillingfleetium, Episcopum nuper Wigornienſem doctissimum, retractat sententiam magna cum laude ingenuitatis, & profundissimi Newtoni persuasus argumentis Attractionem cujusvis materiæ partis admittit originariam & a mechanismo non derivatam, nec proinde ratione explicabilem.

EGO etsi sperem quædam ex dictis explicationem aliquam admittere, cujus & specimen dedi

dedi circa unionem animæ & corporis ; aliter tamen agnosco interiorum naturæ incomprehensibilem sublimitatem ab influxu infiniti orientem, qui fons est idearum clararum simul & tamen confusarum (quales sensibilibus quarundam qualitatibus habemus) quibus nulla creatura penitus exui potest, & quas in controversia inter eximios viros Stillingfleetium & Lockium non satis ab aliis discretas puto. Atq; hæc quidem omnia sanè ostendunt multo minus mirandum esse si in rebus divinis occurrunt, quæ rationis vires longe transcendunt. Quòd si ergo sunt quædam difficilia & impedita apud Theologos, non ideò aut ipsis insultandum, aut Theologica Systemata (id est ordinatam doctrinæ expositionem) rejicienda censeo, non magis quàm philosophica aut medica ; sed tantum cavendum (ut in medicina) ne nimium disputando praxin & salutem negligamus.

F I N I S.



BOOKS lately printed, and sold by J. PEELE.

I. **T**HE history of the Conquest of *Mexico* by the *Spaniards*: translated into *English* from the original *Spanish* of *Don Antonio de Solis*, Secretary and Historiographer to his Catholic Majesty. By *Thomas Townshend Esq;* In folio.

II. *Joannis Seldeni Jurisconsulti Opera omnia, tam edita quam inedita, in tribus voluminibus; collegit ac recensuit, Vitum Auctoris, Praefationes & Indices adiecit David Wilkins S. T. P. Canonicus Cantuariensis, 6 vol. folio.*

III. The Compleat Surveyor; or, the whole Art of Surveying of Land, by a new Instrument lately invented, as also by the plain Table, the Circumferenter, the Theodolite, as now improved, or by the Chain only. Containing plain and easy Directions in several kinds of Mensuration, and other things necessary to be known in a Work of this nature. By *William Leybourn*. The whole alter'd and amended, and two entire Books added by the Author long before his death. The fifth Edition, in nine Books. Every Operation, both Geometrical and Arithmetical, examin'd, and an Appendix added to the whole. Consisting of practical Observations in Land-Surveying. By *Sam. Cunn.* folio.

IV. A new System of Agriculture, being a compleat Body of Husbandry and Gardening in all the parts of them, viz. Husbandry in the Field, and its Improvements. Of Forest and Timber-Trees, great and small; with Evergreens and Flowering Shrubs, &c. Of the Fruit-garden. Of the Kitchen-Garden. Of the Flower-garden. In five Books. Containing all the best and latest, as well as many new Improvements, useful to the Husbandman, Grazier, Planter, Gardener, and Florist. Wherein are interspersed many curious Observations on Vegetation, on the Diseases of Trees, and the general Annoyances to Vegetables, and their probable Cures. As also a particular Account of the famous Silphium of the Ancients. By *John Lawrence M. A.* Rector of *Bishop's-Weremouth*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and Prebendary of the Church of *Sarum*. In Folio.

V. A general Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening: containing a new System of Vegetation. Illustrated with many Observations and Experiments. In two Volumes. Formerly publish'd monthly, and now methodiz'd and digested under proper Heads, with Additions, and great Alterations. In four Parts. Part I. Concerning the Improvement of Land, by fertilizing bad Soils. Of Stocking of Farms with Cattel, Poultry, Fish, Bees, Grasses, Grain, Cyder, &c. Part II. Instructions to a Gardener, wherein is demonstrated the Circulation of Sap, the Generation of Plants,

Books printed for J. PEELE.

Plants, the Nature of Soil, Air, and Situation. Of the Profits arising from planting and raising Timber. Part III. Of the Management of Fruit-Trees, with particular Observations relating to Grafting, Inarching, and Inoculating. Part IV. Remarks on the Disposition of Gardens in general. Of the Method of managing Exotic Plants and Flowers, and naturalizing them to our Climate. With an Account of Stoves and Artificial Heats. Adorn'd with Cuts. By *Richard Bradley*, Professor of Botany in the University of *Cambridge*, and F. R. S. In two Volumes Octavo. Pr. 12 s.

VI. The Practical Fruit-Gardener; being the best and newest Method of raising, planting, and pruning all sorts of Fruit-trees, agreeably to the Experience and Practice of the most eminent Gardeners and Nursery-men. By *Stephen Switzer*. Revised and recommended by the Reverend Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Bradley*. Adorn'd with proper Plans. In Octavo.

VII. An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of *William Chillingworth*, Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*. Wherein are inserted several original Letters of that Eminent Divine. By Mr. *Des Maizeaux*. F. R. S. In Octavo.

VIII. The Independent Whig. The third Edition, with Additions. In Octavo.

IX. The Spirit of the Ecclesiasticks of all Sects and Ages, as to the Doctrines of Morality, and more particularly the Spirit of the ancient Fathers of the Church examin'd. By *Monf. Barbeyrac*, Professor of Laws and History in the University of *Lausanne*. Translated from the *French* by a Gentleman of *Grays-Inn*. With a Preface by the Author of the *Independent Whig*.

X. The Earl of *Shaftesbury's* Letters to the Lord Viscount *Molesworth*, concerning the Choice of a Wife, and the Love of one's Country. To which is prefix'd a large Introduction by Mr. *Toland*, giving an Account of Lord *Shaftesbury's* Conduct in publick Affairs.

XI. The Last Day. A Poem, in 12 Books. By *J. Bulkley Esq;* late of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, Author of the Letters to the Reverend Dr. *Clark*, on Liberty and Necessity. The second Edition. In Octavo.

XII. Popery against Christianity : or, an Historical Account of the present State of *Rome*; the Election of the late Pope; the Proceedings of the Jesuits in *China*, and also in *England* and other Protestant Countries. With an Appendix, containing the Lives and Canonization of the last four Saints; and several Decrees of Popes contradicting one
one

Books printed for J. PEELE.

one another. By *Parthenopæus Hereticus*. The second Edition. In Octavo.

XIII. The Case of *Ireland's* being bound by Acts of Parliament in *England* stated. By *William Molineux* of *Dublin* Esq; To which is added, The Case of Tenures upon the Commission of Defective Titles, argued by all the Judges of *Ireland*. With their Resolutions, and the Reasons of their Resolutions. In Octavo.

XIV. A Treatise of Laws: or, a general Introduction to the Common, Civil, and Canon Law. In three Parts. I. The Common Law of *England*; illustrated in great Variety of Maxims, &c. Also the Use of this Law; with References to the Statutes in all Cases. II. Of the Civil Law, intermix'd with the Law of Nations, and its Use here in *England*; and a Parallel between the Civil Law and Common Law. III. The Canon Law, and Laws Ecclesiastical; containing the Authority and Rights of the *English* Clergy; Of Patrons of Churches; Courts Ecclesiastical, Tryals, &c. In Octavo.

XV. The Law of Securities: being a Methodical Treatise of all the Laws and Statutes relating to Bills Obligatory, Bonds and Conditions, Judgments, Recognizances, Statutes, Mortgages, Securities Real and Personal, Collateral Securities, and all manner of Engagements for Money; shewing how far Persons and Estates are bound, and the Court of Chancery will give Relief. And also, The Laws and Statutes concerning Pawns, Pledges, and Usury, with the Methods of Prosecution, Pleadings, &c. and proper Precedents in all Cases interspers'd throughout. To which are added, The Laws against Bankrupts; with Variety of Law-Cases, Precedents of Commissions, Assignments of Commissioners, Certificates, Deeds of Distribution, &c. In Octavo.

XVI. The History of *John* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Carency*; containing a Variety of entertaining Novels. Translated from the *French* of the Countess *D'Aunois*. The 2d Edit.

XVII. The *Dublin* Miscellany: being a Collection of Poems, original and translated. By *Dr. Swift*, *Mr. Parnell*, *Dr. Delany*, *Mr. Brown*, *Mr. Ward*, *Mr. Sterling*, *Mr. Concanen*, and others. In Octavo.

XVIII. A New Treatise of the Art of Thinking: containing a Compleat System of Reflections concerning the Conduct and Improvement of the Mind, in Enquiries into all kinds of Truth: especially such as relate to the Knowledge of Mankind. Illustrated with Variety of Characters and Examples, drawn from the ordinary Occurrences of Life.

Books printed for J. PEELE.

Life. Written in *French* by *Monf. Croufaz*, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks in the University of *Laufane*. Translated into *English*, in two Volumes Octavo.

XIX. A Collection of Debates in the House of Commons in the Year 1680, relating to the Bill of Exclusion of the then Duke of York; containing the Speeches of the Lord *Ruffel*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, *Ralph Montague* Esq; *Henry Booth* Esq; Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Lion. Jenkins*, Sir *Tho. Pleyr*, Sir *Richard Graham*, Sir *William Poultney*, *Daniel Finch* Esq; *Hugh Boscarwen* Esq; *John Trenchard* Esq; *John Hampden* Esq; Sir *Roger Hill*, Sir *William Jones*, Sir *Richard Mason*, *Lawrence Hyde* Esq; Colonel *Legg*, *Edward Deering* Esq; Colonel *Birch*, with many more; and a List of the Members that composed that Honourable House. To which are added, The Debates of the House of Commons assembled at *Oxford*, *March* 21. 1680. as also an Introduction, shewing the Progress of Popery from the Reformation to the present Time. In Octavo.

XX. An Historical Essay on the Legislative Power of *England*, wherein the Origin of both Houses of Parliament, their Antient Constitution, and Changes that have happen'd in the Persons that composed them, with the Occasion thereof, are related in a Chronological Order; and many things concerning the *English* Government. The Antiquity of the Laws of *England*, and the Feudal Law, are occasionally illustrated and explained. By *George St. Amand*, of the *Inner Temple*, Esq; In Octavo.

XXI. *Cato's* Letters. With a Preface, containing an Answer to the most popular Objections to these Letters, and a Character of the late *John Trenchard* Esq; In 4 vol. 12^o.

XXII. The Works of the 'Honourable Sir *Charles Sedley*, consisting of Poems, Plays, Speeches in Parliament, &c. viz. The *Mulberry-Garden*, *Bellamira* or the *Mistress*, The *Grumbler*, *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and the *Tyrant King of Crete*, &c. With Memoirs of the Author's Life. In two Volumes 12^o.

XXIII. Three Tragedies, viz. The *Distress'd Mother*; The *Briton*; and *Humfrey Duke of Glocester*. By *Ambrose Philips* Esq; in 12^o.

XXIV. Epistles, Odes, &c. written on several Subjects. With a Dissertation concerning the Perfection of the *English* Language, the State of Poetry, &c. By *Mr. Welfed*. The second Edition.

XXV. *Silk-Worms*: a Poem in two Books. Translated from the original *Latin* of *Marc. Hier. Vida*, Bishop of *Alba*. With a Preface giving an Account of the Life and Writings of *Vida*.



